

Concordia Seminary - Saint Louis

Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary

Master of Sacred Theology Thesis

Concordia Seminary Scholarship

3-1-2003

Fifty Years of Theological Education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea: 1948-1998

John Eggert

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, eggert_john@hotmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.csl.edu/stm>



Part of the [Christianity Commons](#), and the [Missions and World Christianity Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Eggert, John, "Fifty Years of Theological Education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea: 1948-1998" (2003). *Master of Sacred Theology Thesis*. 29.
<https://scholar.csl.edu/stm/29>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Concordia Seminary Scholarship at Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master of Sacred Theology Thesis by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact seitzw@csl.edu.

Fifty Years of Theological Education
in the Gutnius Lutheran Church
of Papua New Guinea:
1948–1998

A Thesis
Presented to the Faculty of
Concordia Seminary
St. Louis, Missouri

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Sacred Theology

by
John C. Eggert
March 2003

Prof. William W. Schumacher, Advisor

Dr. Robert L. Rosin, Reader

Dr. Won Yong Ji, Reader

**Fifty Years of Theological Education
in the Gutnius Lutheran Church
of Papua New Guinea:
1948–1998**

Contents

Preface	vii
Abbreviations	x
I. A Brief Introduction to Papua New Guinea	
A. Geographical Setting	1
B. Cultural Setting	3
C. Political Setting	6
II. A Brief History of Christian Work in Papua New Guinea	
A. Beginnings of Christianity in Papua New Guinea	11
B. Start of Lutheran Work in Papua New Guinea	12
C. LCMS Beginnings in Papua New Guinea	16
III. Nine Years of Work Leading to the First Baptisms	
A. A Brief Look at What “Theological Education” Means	24
B. Pre-Baptism Instruction Is Received, Then Passed Along	28
IV. The First Formal Training Program: Birip School for Church Workers	
A. The Baptisms and Theological Reflection	32
B. The Baptisms and Additional Training	33
C. What the Additional Training Included	41
D. The Need to Expand and Enhance Gospel Proclamation	45
V. A Training Program in English: Martin Luther Seminary	
A. Regional Developments Encourage a New Program	49
B. Basics of Theological Education at Martin Luther Seminary	51
C. Mixed Results	54
VI. Birip School for Church Workers Transitions to Timothy Lutheran Seminary	60
VII. The Development of Bible Schools	
A. Ongoing Evangelist Training	70
B. Bible Schools Work with Timothy Lutheran Seminary	74

Contents	vi
VIII. Various Theological Education by Extension Programs	76
IX. Continuing Education for Church Workers	85
X. Papua New Guinean Christians Take Up the Challenge of Theological Education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church	
A. They Took Part in the Challenge from the Beginning	91
B. Taking Up the Administrative Challenge	92
C. Taking Up the Financial Challenge	95
D. Taking Up the Theological Challenge	101
XI. Some Concluding Observations	105
Appendix A: Survey Questions	110
Appendix B: Survey Respondents	117
Appendix C: Regional Map	119
Appendix D: Papua New Guinea Map (Main Area of GLC Work)	120
Works Cited	121

Preface

This study of “Fifty Years of Theological Education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea: 1948–1998” developed as a result of several different things coming together at the same time. From 1985 until 1998 I served as an evangelistic missionary of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod in Papua New Guinea. Most of those years my wife, Jeanette, and I were involved in some form of theological education activity. In 1998 we were asked by The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod’s Board for Mission Services to accept a temporary assignment in Ghana, West Africa, to help develop a clergy training program for the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Ghana. As we considered the request I kept asking: “What has been done in theological education in West Africa? What is being done in theological education in West Africa? Is there something that I can read which will provide a helpful picture of what I am being asked to become involved in?” When no one could point to a specific volume or study, I began wondering how I would respond to such a question about theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church.

At the same time, there was an air of excitement stirring in the Gutnius Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea, a partner church of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. This was related to the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the start of Lutheran work among the Enga people. Where there had been no Christians fifty years ago, there were now thousands of Lutherans coming together to celebrate what had happened between 1948 and 1998. Attending the celebrations were the pioneer LCMS missionaries Rev. Dr. Otto and Jill Hintze and Rev. Dr. Willard and Elinor Burce. Also a part of the celebrations were Kowa Waimane, one of the men who is credited with having invited the Lutheran church to come and work among the Enga people, along with a number of people who had been part of the first group baptized in 1957.

As I observed and participated in the celebrations, I realized that I was sitting with and talking with those who had been part of this work from the beginning. It was history in the making. At the same time, questions about the history of theological education in West Africa, in Papua New Guinea, and in the Gutnius Lutheran Church arose in my mind. It seemed that now was the time to gather information from those who had seen and been a part of the beginning of theological education in what had developed into the Gutnius Lutheran Church. In a few years a number of these people would no longer be around to tell the story of what they had experienced.

From a personal question about what I might encounter in West Africa, to looking at what I had experienced over the past thirteen years, to participating in the anniversary celebrations, the topic “Fifty Years of Theological Education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea: 1948–1998,” emerged. With the topic in mind and the opportunity to write a thesis as part of my Master of Theology program, the stage was set to begin the research and pull together some of this history in the making.

The research developed in various ways. Having already left Papua New Guinea for the work in West Africa I developed several surveys and sent them to current and former missionaries, students of the early theological education programs, students of later theological education programs and current teachers in theological education programs. The survey questions are found in Appendix A. As the survey was developed it became evident that the meaning of the phrase “theological education” was not as clear as might first be thought. Thus, there was a question included on the survey about how one would define theological education in the Papua New Guinean context. In addition to the surveys there were a number of other resources available to consult—books, periodicals, minutes of meetings of the Board of Control of Timothy Lutheran Seminary and pamphlets, some in English and some in Melanesian Pidgin. (All of the translations from Melanesian Pidgin, unless otherwise noted, are my own.) I interviewed Rev. Dr. Willard Burce, who spent most of his forty years of work in Papua New Guinea involved in various forms of theological education. There were also correspondence and my own personal experience to draw upon. The “Works Cited” list at the end of the paper will provide the necessary titles

of the references. This introduction is simply to prepare the reader for the various types of materials cited in the study.

Materials available, personal interest and experience, and limitations of time and space have all contributed to what has been included or omitted in this study. No doubt there are gaps, and others who have been involved in theological education in Papua New Guinea or elsewhere will have questions as to why certain things were included or omitted. Obviously it has not been possible to look at all of the materials which could have been consulted. The definition of what theological education is may not seem as crisp and clear as one might like it to be from a western academic perspective, but it is part of the picture which has emerged. Rather than try to mold it significantly I have tried to present what I have found.

In the task of researching and writing on the topic I have learned a great deal. I have developed a summary of how theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church unfolded from 1948 to 1998. I have found myself asking more questions about what happened, and what this may mean for the future in theological education, than could be addressed in this paper. Some of those questions and areas of thought have been identified at the end of the paper. The reader will likely develop additional questions and thoughts on what has been presented. It is my hope and prayer that this material will be as helpful for the reader as it has been for me in understanding what happened in theological education in the Lutheran work among the Enga people from 1948 to 1998.

Finally, I would like to express appreciation to those who responded to the surveys and spent time discussing the issue with me. Your efforts have helped me look at various materials and different aspects of the topic which would have been left out had you not given of your time and knowledge.

Abbreviations

ALC	American Lutheran Church
ALM	Australian Lutheran Mission
DELTO	Distance Education Leading to Ordination
ELCA	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia
ELCONG	Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea
ELC—PNG	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea
GLC	Gutnius Lutheran Church
LCMS	The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod
LMNG	Lutheran Mission New Guinea
MATS	Melanesian Association of Theological Schools
MBP	Milne Bay Province
MLS	Martin Luther Seminary
NGLM	New Guinea Lutheran Mission
NSP	North Solomons Province
PNG	Papua New Guinea
SHP	Southern Highlands Province
TEE	Theological Education by Extension
TLS	Timothy Lutheran Seminary
WLC	Wabag Lutheran Church
WTS	Wartburg Theological Seminary

I. A Brief Introduction to Papua New Guinea

The Gutnius Lutheran Church (GLC) is one of two Lutheran churches in the South Pacific nation of Papua New Guinea, the other Lutheran church being the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea. This brief review of the geographical, cultural and political settings of Papua New Guinea (PNG) will provide the physical context in which the Gutnius Lutheran Church and the theological education programs, which this study will examine, developed.

A. Geographical Setting

Papua New Guinea is part of the island of New Guinea, the second largest island in the world (Greenland being the largest). The island lies between 1 and 11 degrees south of the equator and between 130 and 150 degrees east of Greenwich. Directly to the south and extending significantly farther to the west of New Guinea is Australia with the northernmost tip of the Australian mainland less than 150 kilometers (95 miles) from the island of New Guinea across the Torres Strait. The Caroline Islands are approximately 1,200 kilometers (750 miles) to the north of New Guinea and the island of Guam is around 2,000 kilometers (1,200 miles) to the north. The Philippines are located nearly 1,200 kilometers (750 miles) to the northwest. Directly to the west are the numerous islands of the country of Indonesia which also controls the western half of the island of New Guinea. (See map in Appendix C.)

The country of Papua New Guinea is made up of the eastern half of the island of New Guinea and all of the nearby islands to the north and east. The easternmost islands border with the island nation of the Solomon Islands, the people of which are Melanesian just as are the people of Papua New Guinea. To the southeast of the Solomon Islands is the country of Fiji, an island nation in which the western islands are populated by

Melanesians. "Melanesia is a name that scientists have given to the southwest Pacific. . . . The word *melanesia* means 'black islands' in classical Greek."¹

With the whole country of Papua New Guinea being made up of islands, the geological features range from ocean beaches, lagoons and lowlands to towering mountains, the tallest of which is Mt. Wilhelm at 4,500 meters (14,794 feet). Numerous streams and rivers run between the mountains. The mountains are rugged, mostly vegetation-covered, and have played a major role in the lives of the people. The mountains and valleys form natural barriers and have kept people separated from each other. This separation has tended to cause language and cultural differences and even to reinforce the idea that the people on the other side of the mountain are the enemy. The high mountain areas are often considered inhabited by various spirits and avoided. These ideas which result from the separation of the people have also played a major role in the lives and structures of the churches that have developed in the country of Papua New Guinea.

What is known today as the Gutnius Lutheran Church began in 1948 in the central highlands of the eastern half of the island of New Guinea (which would later become the country of Papua New Guinea). This means that the people who make up the Gutnius Lutheran Church and who are served by it are mountain people. They live among some of the most rugged mountains and valleys of the country, usually at altitudes between 1,200 and 2,400 meters (4,000 and 8,000 feet) above sea level. Although roads and airstrips have been built, even at the end of the twentieth century much travel is by foot along the mountain paths. This has made isolation a part of the culture of the people and part of the challenge of the work of the church in the area.

Since Papua New Guinea is located very near the equator, it obviously has a tropical climate. However, the altitude of the area in which the Gutnius Lutheran Church is located makes it a temperate tropical climate. The nights are cool, often down to 12 degrees Celsius (50s Fahrenheit), and the days warm, around 27 degrees Celsius (80s Fahrenheit) year round. Above 2,400 meters (8,000 feet) it is too cool for food to grow

¹ Jackson Rannells, *PNG: A Fact Book on Modern Papua New Guinea* (Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press, 1993), 83.

well, and above 2,100 meters (7,000 feet) there can be killing frost. The area receives about 3,500 millimeters (140 inches) of rain a year² and the growing season is year-round. Although living in the rugged mountains is a challenge, the climate is healthier than in the coastal areas, and the central highlands have the highest population density in the country.

A final thing to consider in the geographical setting is the natural resources. The abundant year-round rainfall has made agriculture an important part of the lives of the people, with most of the rural people continuing to live as subsistence farmers. Coffee (in the highlands) and copra production (in the coastal areas) are important in the commercial agricultural production of the country. The year-round growing season has also provided rich forest resources, which are used both by the local people and for export. In the early 1900s, gold was discovered in coastal areas, and has now been found throughout the country along with copper, making mining a major industry. More recently oil, and natural gas deposits have been found and are becoming an important part of the overall economic picture of Papua New Guinea.

The geographical setting of Papua New Guinea with the associated geological, climactic and natural resources have shaped who the people of Papua New Guinea are and how they live and function in their world. The country's geography has likewise had a significant effect both on the cultural and political development which has taken place over the years.

B. Cultural Setting

A whole book could be written (as several have been already³) dealing with the cultural setting of Papua New Guinea, or more accurately the cultural "settings" of this

² Ibid., 18.

³ *A People Reborn*, by Christian Keysser; *The Enga of the New Guinea Highlands*, by M. J. Meggitt et. al.; *Anthropological Study Conference*, proceedings from the 1968 New Guinea Luther Mission Conference; *The Mountain People: Social Institutions of the Laiapu Enga*, by Ted Westermann; *From Inside the Women's House*, by Alome Kyakas and Polly Wiessner; *Historical Vines: Enga Networks of Exchange, Ritual, and Warfare in Papua New Guinea*, by Polly Wiessner and Akii Tumu; *Papua New Guinea Atlas: A Nation in Transition*, edited by David King and Stephen Ranck.

diverse country. We will briefly note three such settings that have been particularly important for theological education in Papua New Guinea.

One has to do with the wider area of the South Pacific—that of the relationship oriented culture of the Melanesian peoples. Relationships are the core around which the society is built. People's lives are regulated by the patterns of how they relate to each other—that is, by systems of kinship ties and by what one can expect or request of another within such relationships. Generally speaking, people and relationships are more important than things. The closer the person is in the blood relationship, the more important he or she is. There are certain people with whom one must deal “honestly” and other people with whom one may deal “dishonestly.”

In such a culture, everyone has a place in society. In essence, the traditional Melanesian society had its own built-in welfare system because everyone is related to someone and each individual has a responsibility to care for those related to him. Furthermore, when one person cares for someone else, the person who receives help has a responsibility to repay that help when the first person is in need.

The above paragraphs are an extreme oversimplification of a relationship-oriented society.⁴ The Melanesian relationship-oriented society is complex and has both its good points and bad points. It affects how Melanesians perceive the world and how they understand and proclaim the Christian faith. As a major part of their lives, it is also a factor in theological education in these societies.

Equally important in the cultural setting is the animistic world view of the people of Papua New Guinea. “Animists usually believe that all happenings are due to the agencies of spirits, whether benevolent or malign, and that everything has a living principle, endowed with power if not will. Consequently, much of their energy usually goes into trying to pacify potentially harmful spirits and enlist potentially beneficial spirits on their side.”⁵ Although there is a “creator god,” he is really very far removed from the lives of

⁴ For a more detailed study of the relationship-oriented societies of Papua New Guinea, see Darrell L. Whiteman, ed., *An Introduction to Melanesian Cultures*, Point Series, no. 5 (Goroka, Papua New Guinea: The Melanesian Institute, 1984).

⁵ Denise Lardner Carmody and John Tully Carmody, *Ways to the Center: An Introduction to World Religions*, 4th ed. (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1993), 31.

people and for all practical purposes is of no significance. Spruth identifies this idea among the highlands people when he writes:

They [the Enga and surrounding people] believed that *Aitawe* or God is not close to the people. They think he has ultimate strength and power and truly controls everything but he does not concern himself with the people of the earth. The people also do not always think of *Aitawe* or God. When a big problem overwhelms them or their gardens do not grow well then some of the people think of him.⁶

What is of significance is the spirit world⁷ which ranges from small invisible beings who can control weather and other things in everyday life, to spells and curses cast by various people upon other people, to spirits of dead ancestors helping or hurting the present family. Different people groups are believed to have varying levels of control of the spiritual powers, making one aspect of animism significant in one area of the country and another aspect of it significant in another area.

Again, much more could be said of the animistic world view, but at this point it is important to know that it exists and is a part of the lives of the people (including the lives of Christians). It has been and will continue to be one of the things that influences theological education.

A final aspect of the cultural setting has to do with education. Although the tribes and clans passed on their history and cultural traditions over hundreds of years, it was not through highly organized inter-tribal educational systems. They used an oral educational system with no reading or writing. With the various colonial powers and Christian missions came various new languages and educational systems. The Germans worked in German. The English and Australians worked in English. The first prime minister, as a youngster during World War II, received his initial literacy training in Japanese under a Japanese army officer who had been a teacher before the war!

⁶ Erwin L. Spruth, *Tok Bilong God Ran i Go* (The Word of God continued to spread: The story of the Gutnius Lutheran Church—Papua New Guinea), (Wabag, Enga Province, Papua New Guinea: Department of Evangelism & Life, Gutnius Lutheran Church Papua New Guinea, 1980), 16. In Melanesian Pidgin: “Ol i bilip *Aitawe/Gotte* em i no save stap klostu long manmeri. Ol i ting long em i gat moa strong na pawa na bosim tru olgeta samting tasol em i no wari tru long ol manmeri bilong graun. Ol pipel tu i no tingting oltaim long *Aitawe/Gotte*. Taim i gat bikpela hevi tru i kavarapim lain olgeta no kaikai i no kamap gut, orait nau sampela ol i ting long em.”

⁷ For an interesting discussion on religious experience in Melanesia and how theism, deism, atheism and animism fit in, see “What Is Religion?” by Ennio Mantovani, 23–47, in *An Introduction to Melanesian Religions*, edited by Ennio Mantovani, Point Series no. 6 (Goroka, EHP, Papua New Guinea: The Melanesian Institute).

Formal education became a priority with the coming of the colonial powers to the island of New Guinea and the events of World War II with the decision by the United Nations to create a new country out of 700-plus independent cultures. There was a whole world out there about which these people knew virtually nothing. If they were to become part of that world and be able to fend for themselves they had to learn about it. As the administrators of the territories of Papua and New Guinea, the Australians recognized this. The Papua New Guineans learned quickly as new ideas (including Christianity), new things (manufactured goods) and demands for their natural resources (gold, agricultural products, etc.) flooded into their world. Thus education of a type which they had not previously known quickly became important for people throughout the country, even in the most remote corners. This too has been one of the forces which shaped theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church.

C. Political Setting

Papua New Guinea became an independent country in 1975 at the urging of the United Nations.⁸ It is a democratic country with a parliamentary system of government and is part of the Commonwealth of Nations. However, the background to the political setting of Papua New Guinea at the end of the twentieth century is deep and broad. To begin to understand the political setting, one needs to take into account the tribal context of the people in general. While tribalism may seem more a part of the cultural context than the political, it is also necessary to consider the role tribal divisions play within the political setting.

Although the people of Papua New Guinea are now citizens of a single country it is important to note that various sources put the number of languages spoken in the country at between 700 and 800.⁹ Some of these languages are related to each other but they are mostly independent languages. More importantly they usually reflect somewhat different cultural backgrounds and separate local political systems. While neighboring language

⁸ Rannells, 60.

⁹ Ibid., 70.

groups may have had a similar system of political organization, there were independent local leaders in the various communities. Even within the larger language groups, such as the Enga people, there was traditionally no single leader over the whole group. Each tribal clan had its own leader or leaders who were independent of the leader or leaders of the next tribal clan. They could work together or they could be enemies, depending on the circumstances at the time.

These positions of local leadership were not inherited; a leader was recognized by the people because of how well he could speak, organize, fight, raise pigs or provide other things necessary for the good of the community. There were no official elections, but simply consensus among the people at the time of a significant event as to who the most influential person or people were. Although an individual's political status could rise or fall at any time, certain leaders usually managed to maintain their influence on the community for a long period. However, there was no guarantee that the leader's son would take his place. The new leader would be chosen based on whether or not he could deliver, and not because of whose son he was.

This tribal leadership seemed to meet the needs of independent peoples living on their own land. Life was a continual give-and-take among the various political entities, with one being dominant first and then another. With enough land for everyone and no one really able to dominate the others, life went on fairly well.

However, that all changed once European explorers of the sixteenth century made their way to the South Pacific. "Attempting to return from the Moluccas to the Spanish territories in North America, Alvaro de Saavedra sailed along the north coast of New Guinea in 1528. . . . Following the same route east in 1545 Ynigo Ortiz de Rexes observed the coast to Astrolabe Bay before turning north. The name 'Nueve Guinea' that he gave to the mainland was used by Mercator on his world map of 1569."¹⁰ Yet it was not until 1884 that the real colonial era began in what is today known as Papua New Guinea. Rannells identifies the following important dates in the political history of Papua New Guinea:

1828 Holland annexes the western half of New Guinea island.

1884 Britain establishes a protectorate over present-day Central, Gulf, MBP, Oro,

¹⁰ David King and Stephen Ranck, eds., *Papua New Guinea Atlas: A Nation in Transition* (Bathurst, NSW, Australia: Robert Brown and Associates, 1985), 10.

SHP and Western, with headquarters at Port Moresby. Germany annexes the remaining area except NSP. The private New Guinea Company runs the German colony from Finschhafen, Morobe. The mainland is called Kaiser-Wilhelmsland.

- 1886 Vice-Admiral Freiherr G. E. von Schleinitz becomes the first administrator of German New Guinea. NSP is added.
- 1888 British New Guinea is declared a colony, and William MacGregor begins 10 years service as administrator. He starts a policy of government by patrol. Village constables are named to act as agents of government.¹¹

Before World War I the development of the two eastern territories of the island went in somewhat different directions. The German colonial government set up plantations. Even though these plantations were established for the benefit of the German nation, they resulted in all of the skills and exchange between peoples that come with developing (practically conscripting) a labor force. England, on the other hand, was fairly disinterested in what was happening in Papua and only brought in limited development. There was more emphasis on governmental organization than on education and economic development. This limited development along with sensitive governmental organization was continued by Australia when England “gifted” Australia with the administration of the territory of Papua at the time of Australian independence in 1901.¹²

The fighting of World War I did not directly affect the people of New Guinea, but the curtailment of the freedom of German peoples around the world was felt in the German territory. At the end of World War I, Germany was no longer allowed to maintain control of the territory of New Guinea. In 1919 the Treaty of Versailles gave Australia the responsibility to administer this territory as well.¹³ However, the differences in emphasis initiated by the colonial powers in the two territories were continued until World War II.

As is well known, the South Pacific was a significant battlefield in World War II, and the people of the territories of New Guinea and Papua were greatly affected. Caught in a war of which they had little or no understanding, the coastal peoples of the two territories were drafted into service by both the Japanese and the Allies. While the people in the central highlands were not directly affected by the war itself, they were affected by the outcome of the war. As the war came to an end, the United Nations mandated that

¹¹ Rannells, 59. The names listed under 1884 are provinces of Papua New Guinea. MBP is Milne Bay Province; SHP is Southern Highlands Province; NSP is North Solomons Province.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., 60.

Australia establish a plan to put in place those things necessary for independence of the territories of Papua and New Guinea. By “1962 [a] United Nations mission headed by Sir Hugh Foot urge[d] rapid action for self-rule in PNG.”¹⁴ As the plan developed, 1975 was chosen as the year in which the territories would become independent. In that year they became one independent country named Papua New Guinea.

Australia’s parliamentary system was the model of government followed, and the 700-plus language/culture groups were eventually combined into nineteen provinces for administrative purposes. Port Moresby was established as the capital of the country and each province had one town chosen as a government administrative center.

Needless to say, since then there has been a great amount of change in the political structures of the area. That political change has been part of the setting in which theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church developed.

The Gutnius Lutheran Church is mainly centered in the area known as the Enga Province in the central highlands of Papua New Guinea. As it has grown, it has spilled over into surrounding provinces. It has also followed the Enga people as they have traveled to other parts of the country. (See map in Appendix D.)

Although the Enga language group is the largest single language group in the country, it was never a political entity in and of itself before independence. There was migration back and forth among the various clans, and there was also intermarriage. But in general, the clan groups were independent of each other, as noted above. The Australian appointed government leaders handled the administration of the Enga people through the Western Highlands District although there was a major mountain range between the two areas. Thus as independence approached, these various forces combined to create an individual province for the largest language group in the country and the Enga Province became one of the nineteen political divisions within the country.

As was noted above, the political forces at work in Papua New Guinea are very complicated. While there is a certain amount of influence on Christian work within the country from national political issues, there is as much or more influence from the provincial political structures and the tribal political structures. Each has its own unique

¹⁴ Ibid.

effect on the work of theological education. In some cases, local community status is enhanced by having a theological education program in the area even though a program just a short distance away could serve just as well. Political status on a national, provincial and/or local level can be enhanced if an individual or a group is seen as supporting a certain theological education program. The more traditional method of leadership which acknowledged as a leader the person who could deliver the goods, sometimes goes against the theologically “correct” aspects of leadership, both in the church and in theological education.

In conclusion, it is clear that theological education is shaped not only by the theological principles involved, but by the forces at work within the communities in which the theological education takes place. Although the forces at work are often hidden beneath the surface, they are nonetheless influential and have to be considered as they surface.

II. A Brief History of Christian Work in Papua New Guinea

A. Beginnings of Christianity in Papua New Guinea

The first recognized Christian effort in the area of the South Pacific that became known as Papua New Guinea was “by the French Roman Catholic Order of the Marists in 1848”¹⁵ on Woodlark Island off the very eastern tip of the island of New Guinea. This effort was short-lived, and Roman Catholic work did not take hold again until 1882. Beginning in 1871 the London Mission Society initiated work with “experienced missionaries from the Pacific mission field, and brought indigenous co-workers with them to New Guinea.”¹⁶ The Australian Methodist Mission began work on the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain in 1875, followed in 1882 by “missionaries from the Order of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, acting on the advice of Pope Leo XII,”¹⁷ also on the Gazelle Peninsula. The first Lutheran missionary, Johann Flierl, arrived in Finschhafen in 1886. (See section B below for details.) The fact that between 1871 and 1886 four different Christian denominations began work in what would become Papua New Guinea was a foretaste of what would ultimately build to dozens of Christian denominations competing to proclaim the Christian message to a people who numbered just over four million by the end of the twentieth century.

Christianity, with the salvation it offers, the life-enhancing humanitarian services it provides and the denominational competition and squabbling that accompanies it, had arrived. As the various missions entered the area, most developed educational institutions,

¹⁵ Herwig Wagner, “Beginnings at Finschhafen: The Neuendettelsau Mission Jointly with the Australian Lutheran Church,” in *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The First Hundred Years 1886–1986*, ed. Herwig Wagner and Hermann Reiner (Adelaide, SA, Australia: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986), 32.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 32–33.

and many people who would become leaders of the new country received their initial education from mission schools. Thus the proclamation of the gospel quickly became a part of the cultural setting of the people of Papua New Guinea.

Perhaps three basic facts will best summarize the effect of these small beginnings of Christianity in Papua New Guinea. One fact is that, at the end of the twentieth century, some 95 percent of the people in Papua New Guinea claim to know something about the Christian church.¹⁸ While it must be acknowledged that such awareness is often mixed with traditional animistic beliefs, it is nevertheless significant that the story of Christianity has spread so broadly. A second fact illustrating the impact of Christianity is that “the Constitution declares PNG a nation with Christian principles.”¹⁹ Obviously, as Papua New Guinea was becoming an independent country, the role that the missions played was reflected quite clearly in the thinking of the people involved in government. Tied closely to this is the fact that the newly-established government sought to work with missions in education, medical and development work. Although changes have taken place during the past 25 years, this cooperation is still very much a part of the context of work in Papua New Guinea, and at times causes people from the United States to wonder about the separation of church and state which has become so much a part of American thinking.

B. Start of Lutheran Work in Papua New Guinea

As noted above, Lutheranism was among the first Christian denominations to proclaim the Gospel in New Guinea. The story of the first Lutheran missionary emphasizes the interesting international flavor of the beginning of Lutheran work in New Guinea.

Johann Flierl was born in 1858, the son of Christian farmers in southeastern Germany. In April of 1875 he entered the Mission Seminary at Neuendettelsau, fulfilling a childhood goal.²⁰ When he was midway through his seminary studies he became aware of

¹⁸ Rannells, 16.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Johann Flierl, *Johann Flierl: My Life and God's Mission, An Autobiography*, trans. Erich Flierl (Adelaide, SA, Australia: Open Book Publishers, 1999), 34 and 40.

an opportunity to serve as “a missionary for the Aborigines in the north of South Australia.” Flierl noted that being aware of this opportunity “gave me new joy and energy for the task of preparation, which still lay ahead of me at the seminary.”²¹

After graduation, as he traveled to Australia, Flierl recalled the island of New Guinea from his geography lessons in the following way:

The tribes and people of this island had not been pushed off their lands, as had the poor Aborigines of Australia, where I was destined to go. Even on this journey I had the secret longing to go to this island and I said to my travel companion that I hoped to have completed my task within ten years in the centre of Australia on the Cooper Creek, and that I would want to go on to New Guinea to begin mission work there.²²

Flierl arrived in South Australia in 1878, commenced his work among the Aborigines to which he was called, and in 1881 married Louise Auricht, the daughter of an Australian German Lutheran pastor.²³ Flierl worked among “the Dieri on the Cooper Creek in the Far North of South Australia”²⁴ from late 1878 until early 1885, when an opportunity arose for him to offer to begin mission work “in that portion of New Guinea, which was about to become a German colony.”²⁵

In a sense, the seven years which Flierl spent among the Aboriginal people in Australia served as an introduction to the work of missions among tribal peoples. No doubt many of his experiences proved useful when he moved on to the work in New Guinea with which he was involved for the rest of his life. Of particular interest in the context of this study is the role of education in the work in Australia.

As Lutheran work developed among the German settlers in Australia, and Aboriginal people there was a significant emphasis on education. For both groups it seemed to be the order of the day. In the German settlements, as well as physical needs, “the soul and spirit were also catered for, in that more and more churches and schools were being built and the numbers of teachers and pastors increased in our small Immanuel Synod. . . .”²⁶ Likewise, in the mission to the Aboriginal peoples, the whole person was

²¹ Ibid., 51.

²² Ibid., 58–59.

²³ Ibid., 87.

²⁴ Ibid., 70.

²⁵ Ibid., 109.

²⁶ Ibid., 63.

involved. Flierl noted:

In the mornings, as a rule, I conducted school, while in the afternoons, I would give my students all kinds of station duties, of which there was no shortage. There were horses, cows and goats to tend. Animals were slaughtered for meat, cows were milked, and we had a smithy, under the charge of Brother Vogelsang, who had learnt the trade while young. Further afield, there were flocks of sheep with Brother Jakob in charge. The station was a hive of industry and activity, by white and black, by humans and animals.

Apart from school classes, I frequently conducted catechumen courses. Such baptismal instructions were held in the church and from time to time we were able to baptise [sic] small groups. Thus our modest congregation grew and prospered.²⁷

Education played a similar strong role in the new mission work Flierl began in New Guinea. The work in New Guinea developed from a letter written by Flierl "that mission work should begin in that portion of New Guinea, which was about to become a German colony, and I offered myself to commence this work. . . . I addressed my appeal to our Mission Headquarters in Neuendettelsau, with a copy to the Australian Mission Board."²⁸ The Neuendettelsau Mission Society agreed to be the primary supporter of the work. The Australians would release Flierl and help as they were able. After an almost year-long delay for processing the paper work, Flierl arrived in the coastal settlement of Finschhafen, New Guinea, on July 12, 1886.²⁹ True to the educational emphasis we noted above, the first building which was erected "consisted of a schoolroom and two living rooms. . ."³⁰

By 1904 Flierl and fellow missionaries looked at establishing a lay-helper school at Logaweng. This eventually became the site of Senior Flierl Seminary, which has trained hundreds of pastors over the years for the Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea.

The theological educational process and the extent to which it involved various aspects of church life is clearly described by Flierl:

Our aim at the lay training centre was not only the theological training of our students, but also to develop their self-reliance. The trainees were young adults, some of them married. They were expected to provide for their own upkeep while training, and later, when sent into the villages after completing their training, they were expected to show a good example to the villagers in being able to stand on their own two feet.

But more than this, we endeavoured to involve the growing and developing new church communities of the villages to take an active and supporting interest in their students. Selection of suitable candidates for lay helper training was made the

²⁷ Ibid., 88.

²⁸ Ibid., 109.

²⁹ Ibid., 124.

³⁰ Ibid., 127.

responsibility of the congregations, under the advice of their missionaries. The congregations were encouraged to 'own' the pupils from their midst, to support them both physically and spiritually, to counsel them through their elders when required and finally to have an input in their appointments.³¹

Although Flierl was not directly involved in the development of the theological education programs of the Gutnius Lutheran Church some descendants of those trained in the early lay-helper programs became missionaries to the people of the Enga language group when work began there in 1948. Thus the emphasis on theological education during the initial Lutheran work in New Guinea is the foundation on which theological education in Papua New Guinea has developed. Although many of the theological education programs of the Gutnius Lutheran Church have not become as self-reliant as that described above by Flierl, there has continued to be an emphasis on gardening and maintaining the school campus as part of the overall role of students involved in theological education.

This section has focused on the start of Lutheran work in Papua New Guinea. However, other denominations also understood the important role of education in Christian missions in the South Pacific. In an 1862 letter, John Coleridge Patteson, the first Anglican bishop of Melanesia, wrote:

I am fully persuaded that no abiding work would be done by hastily placing imperfectly educated men on heathen islands. The quickest way to occupy the islands of Melanesia is to secure, from these islands a supply of really competent and earnest men, speaking their own languages, accustomed to the climate, conversant with the habits and modes of thought of the islanders; you may depend on it that the true nursery of the Missionaries for the islands is the Central School at Kohimarama.³²

Although Patteson was writing about a somewhat different setting, his letter makes it clear that theological training for the local people was seen as an essential method of mission in Melanesia during the last half of the nineteenth century. That view helped shape what happened in New Guinea in the twentieth century.

³¹ Ibid., 209.

³² Quoted in Darrell L. Whiteman, *Melanesians and Missionaries: An Ethnohistorical Study of Social and Religious Change in the Southwest Pacific*, (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1983), 121. Kohimarama was the Anglican mission headquarters located on a bay near what is now Auckland, New Zealand. (<http://www.janeresture.com/patteson/> on 1 August 2002)

C. LCMS Beginnings in Papua New Guinea

From the general beginnings of Lutheran work in New Guinea, we turn now to that which more directly relates to the development of theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church, the entry of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod into mission work in Papua New Guinea. Many different things led to the beginning of work by the LCMS in the highlands of New Guinea. However, one single event can be pointed to as the main catalyst which brought that work into being: World War II.

Interestingly enough, the actual events of World War II had very little effect on the daily lives of the people among which the LCMS began work in 1948. While the coastal regions saw major battles and many people were forced into helping both sides in the war, the remote highlands inhabited by the Enga people were virtually untouched by the fighting. Nevertheless, what happened in Lutheran work in the coastal areas essentially brought about the entry of the LCMS into Lutheran work in New Guinea.

As was noted above, the pioneer Lutheran missionary in New Guinea was Johann Flierl, a German who had studied at and been sent out from the Mission Seminary at Neuendettelsau, Germany. His willingness to work in New Guinea brought about his “release from the Australian Church, so that the Neuendettelsau Mission Society could send me to New Guinea to pioneer mission work in the new German colony.”³³ The work begun by Flierl and other German missionaries continued through World War I, although some Germans, including Flierl’s son Wilhelm, were detained and eventually interned in Australia for refusing to take an oath of neutrality or for violating the oath which they had taken.³⁴

After World War I the work by German Lutherans continued; however,

The [Lutheran] Mission Boards in Australia and America took a larger responsibility for the Mission than before. They wrote a new constitution for the Mission, since Neuendettelsau was very limited in what it could do for New Guinea.

³³ Flierl, 109.

³⁴ Ibid., 206–207.

The first missionaries from the American Church began to arrive in New Guinea, as well as additional staff from Australia.³⁵

Between World War I and World War II the work expanded from the coastal areas into the highlands, moving as far as the Mt. Hagen area where the Ogelbeng Mission station was established on November 21, 1934.³⁶ Already at that time, because of the great distance from the coast and the incredibly difficult terrain which needed to be crossed to get to the various areas, "the Lutheran Mission had reached the limits of its capacity . . ."³⁷ Although there were expatriate missionaries involved, "the strain of beginning the Highland Mission rested almost entirely on the shoulders of the New Guinean missionaries from the coastal regions, and this did not alter fundamentally even after the establishment of Onerunka, Asaroka, Ega, Kerowagi, and Ogelbeng."³⁸ In *Church and People in New Guinea*, G. F. Vicedom shows that a great deal of the expansion of the Lutheran Church from the coast into inland areas, and eventually into the highlands, happened as individual congregations took on the task of sending out evangelists to new (usually nearby) areas. They also provided support for these evangelists.

However, as the work moved further inland, the challenges of doing the work in this way increased. Then,

in 1934, the highlands with their hundreds of thousands of inhabitants were discovered. This area lay two to three hundred miles from the congregations that would send out the evangelists. It was so thickly populated that no single congregation or mission district could undertake the work that needed to be done. It was impossible to leave the evangelists there without supervision. So, through preparatory conferences, the congregations were persuaded to make the occupation of the highlands a co-operative venture. Two new lines of action followed. The congregations handed over to the missionary a certain number of evangelists. It would be his business to locate them, to care for them, and to watch over them in the name of the congregations. The congregations on their side agreed to introduce into the highlands one unifying language only, Kate. This was a decisive step. Missionary work was now seen as the work of the whole Church, which on this front must stand together as a unity.

The second world war threw the congregations back upon themselves. Only in a

³⁵ Ibid., 215. The "American Church" listed by Flierl was the American Lutheran Church. On page 647 of *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The First Hundred Years 1886-1986*, edited by Wagner and Reiner, missionaries are listed as arriving from the American Lutheran Church beginning in 1921.

³⁶ Kurt-Dietrich Nrossko, "Missionary Advance to the Highlands," in *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The First Hundred Years 1886-1986*, ed. Herwig Wagner and Hermann Reiner (Adelaide, SA, Australia: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986), 197.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., 198.

few places could the work of the evangelists go on. The war situation made impossible any close fellowship between the congregations.³⁹

Thus, even though the war did not actually reach the highland areas where the church was now expanding, the local efforts as well as those of the missionaries were significantly limited. This limitation included the removal of all German missionaries.

Although the war ended in 1945, the vacancies left by the removal of the German missionaries could not be filled immediately, and the challenge of rebuilding along with maintaining work in areas already entered was more than could be done by those involved. At the same time, additional requests for expansion were coming from others who had come into contact with the mission and wanted it to enter their areas. A clear description of the situation is provided by Dr. John Kuder, first Bishop of ELCONG from 1956 to 1973. (ELCONG was the Evangelical Lutheran Church Of New Guinea, the forerunner of today's ELC—PNG which is the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea.) Reflecting on what happened in post-war New Guinea he wrote:

What did 'mission' mean in such a context? To determine this was to be the task of missionaries for the next decades. For Lutheran Mission the beginning was made when a group of newly-arrived missionaries met for their first interim missionary conference in Lae February 28 to March 5, 1946. The task awaiting them, and those who would join them in the following months, was thought of in terms of healing the wounds of war; re-establishing congregational worship; restoring necessary mission centres or stations; rebuilding the ruined schools, hospitals and churches; making provision for the supply service of outstations . . . and above all, meeting the challenge of evangelization of the large Highland tribes, of which a promising beginning had been made prior to the outbreak of the war. How could all of this be done?⁴⁰

³⁹ G. F. Vicedom, *Church and People in New Guinea* (London: United Society for Christian Literature and the Lutterworth Press, 1961), 54. Although Vicedom does not focus a great deal on theological education, he provides an important look into the spread of the Gospel in New Guinea. Another book that provides helpful descriptions of these years of expansion of the Lutheran Church in New Guinea is *Anutu Conquers in New Guinea* by Albert and Sylvia Frerichs. Frerichs served his first term as a missionary in New Guinea from 1937 to 1943. He and his wife Sylvia returned to the work in 1946. Thus the account has both pre-war and post-war perspectives.

⁴⁰ John F. Kuder, "Reconstruction and Consolidation: Lutheran Mission New Guinea After World War II," in *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The First Hundred Years 1886–1986*, ed. Herwig Wagner and Hermann Reiner (Adelaide, SA, Australia: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986), 223.

At the same time, discussions were taking place in the United States as to what might be done to meet the needs of Lutheran mission work in Papua New Guinea following the end of the war. Kuder reports that:

The Board of Foreign Missions of the American Lutheran Church [ALC] had called together a meeting of furloughing missionaries in Columbus, Ohio, to deal with matters related to a restoration of the work in New Guinea. . . . When it was determined that about 100 persons, both ordained and lay, would be required to undertake the restoration of the program in New Guinea, Dr Henry Schuh, President of the ALC, advised that the Church would balk at such a request, but if a schedule were drawn up requesting a certain number for each of several years, the request would receive favourable consideration.⁴¹

Meanwhile the Australian Lutherans were also looking to the future of the work in New Guinea.

Shortly after the restoration of mission work in New Guinea, the Revd Harold Freund of the Australian Lutheran Mission [ALM] approached officials of LMNG [The Lutheran Mission New Guinea was the body that coordinated the work of the German, Australian, and American Lutheran missionaries in New Guinea.] inquiring about the possibility of ALM beginning a mission outreach in partnership with the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. After some discussion, the area west of Mt. Hagen massif was agreed upon as a possible place for a new mission to be established.⁴²

Freund was a member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia (ELCA) and had been involved in work established by the ELCA on the Siassi islands of New Guinea since 1936. Thus, given the dramatic need for resources after the war and the relationship between the ELCA and the LCMS as encouraged by Harold Freund, the door was now open for the entry of the LCMS into the Lutheran work in New Guinea.

The perspective from “the area west of Mt. Hagen massif” must also be considered. Around 1947, Minjuku Yasima of the Wawini people in the Yaramanda area of the Enga language group came into contact with the work at Ogelbeng. He had a minor leadership role among his people (possibly with the police) and he felt that the benefits which the mission had brought to the people of the Ogelbeng area would be good for his people. With this in mind, he made a request for the Lutheran mission to come to Yaramanda and help his people. Erwin Spruth describes his story in *Tok Bilong God Ran i Go* :

Minjuku Yasima of the Wawini tribe was a young man when he went to Hagen around 1947 and saw all the things the people of the Lutheran station at Ogelbeng were doing. He saw that all of the men and women were doing well and had plenty of

⁴¹ Ibid., 223–224.

⁴² Ibid., 234.

cargo [possessions, belongings] and he also saw how the missionaries acted in helping them all. He also heard some stories about how the people were living good lives at Ogelbeng. Minjuku was a leader [possibly a minor supervisor with the police] and he thought that he would like to help his tribe with what he saw at Ogelbeng. He did not really like how the police would abuse and mistreat his people. He thought that the mission could really help them. He saw that the mission did not seduce [rape] the women of the tribe and did not require the men to work. He also heard some stories about the good way of life which had developed at Ogelbeng. . . . Minjuku saw that the Lutheran mission would be able to really help his people so he requested that the Lutheran mission come to Yaramanda and help the people there. He went to Hagen to encourage the Lutheran Mission to come and live at his place with him.⁴³

Kowa Waimane was also from the Yaramanda area and had been involved with people from the Mt. Hagen area in some trading. In 1947–48 he heard the Gospel with some of his friends and became interested. He spent some time at Ogelbeng learning about the Christian message and felt that this was something that he wanted his people to experience also. Spruth provides the following details:

Kowa Waimane was another man from the Wawini tribe and he had a desire that his people would hear the Good News. Waimane had been involved in business with some people from Mt. Hagen [possibly traveling over the mountains and trading]. He learned their language and was able to communicate with them. Around 1947 and 1948 he heard the Good News while he was with some of his friends. He wanted to learn more about this new talk so he went to Ogelbeng and studied some months to understand the religion [worship]. This new talk of helping man with Christ Jesus really excited him and he greatly wanted his people to hear this message. He asked the Lutheran Mission at Ogelbeng to send some workmen to help the people at his place. Waimane was the voice that said, “You come to Yaramanda and help us.”⁴⁴

⁴³ Spruth, *Tok Bilong God Ran i Go*, 26. In Melanesian Pidgin: “Minjuku Yasima bilong Wawini em i bin wanpela yangpela man taim em i go long Hagen long 1947 samting na lukim ol samting manmeri i mekim long dispela Luteran stesin long Ogelbeng. Em i lukim ol manmeri i stap gut na ol i gat planti gupela kago na tu em i lukim pasin long ol misineri mekim long helpim ol. Na tu em i bin harim sampela stori long dispela gupela pasin i kamap nau long ol manmeri long Ogelbeng. Minjuku em i stap wanpela bosboi na em i ting em i laik helpim lain bilong em olsem. Em i no bin laikim tumas pasin bilong Polisman ol i kikim manmeri na mekim samting long ol pipel bilong em. Em i ting misin i ken helpim ol tru. Em i lukim misin i no pulim ol meri bilong lain na em no putim lo long man i mas wok. . . . Minjuku lukim olsem Luteran Misin inap helpim ol tru, orait em i bin singaut long Luteran Misin i ken kam long Yaramanda na helpim ol dispela lain manmeri. Em i bin go long Hagen long kirapim bel bilong Luteran Misin inap ol i ken kam na stap long ples bilong em wantaim.”

⁴⁴ Ibid., 26–27. In Melanesian Pidgin: “Kowa Waimane bai i narapela man bilong Wawini lain em i laik ol pipel bilong em i ken harim Gutnius. Waimane em i bin wok bisnis liklik wantaim sampela pipel bilong Mt. Hagen. Em i kisim save long tokples bilong ol na em i ken toktok wantaim ol. Long 1947 na 1948 samting em i bin harim Gutnius taim em i stap wantaim sampela pren bilong em. Em i laik kisim moa save long dispela nupela tok olsem em i bin go long Ogelbeng na em i skul olsem sampela mun long kisim miti. Dispela nupela tok bilong helpim man insait long Krais Jisas i bin kirapim tru bel bilong em na em i laikim tumas ol lain manmeri bilong em tu ken harim dispela tok. Em i bin askim Luteran Misin long Ogelbeng long ol i ken salim sampela wokman long helpim ples bilong em. Waimane em dispela nek i bin tok, ‘yu kam long Yaramanda na helpim mipela.’”

And so the request came. Despite the shortage which was caused by the removal of the German missionaries, the Word was continuing to spread and there was a need to move forward with the proclamation to more people groups in the rugged highlands of New Guinea. But, how could this task be accomplished without the necessary resources? As we noted above, discussions were taking place to address this issue on two continents at the same time that Minjuku and Waimane were becoming familiar with the Gospel. The following paragraph from an Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia missions publication provides an Australian perspective on the situation:

All this began in the days following World War II, when the ELCA directed its attention not only to the restoration of its Rooke-Siassi Mission but also to the survey of some new virgin mission-fields on the mainland. At the same time the Missouri Synod was planning a major foreign-missions thrust in as many countries as possible, and eagerly accepted the proposal to join forces with the ELCA in a joint mission venture in the densely-populated Wabag valley. Original plans envisaged Australia providing the major manpower and the Missouri Synod the major finance. So in 1948 after the preliminary surveys, carried out by Pastor H. Freund, Mr. Armin Kleinig, and others, the Mission was launched with H. Freund and I. Kleinig from Australia, and W. Burce and O. Hintze from U.S.A. as the pioneer missionaries. When joint administration proved unworkable, the Missouri Synod took over the Wabag Mission completely, and the ELCA set its sights on Menyamya.⁴⁵

Thus at the invitation of the local people the Lutheran mission crossed over the mountains which separated Ogelbeng from the Minamba and Lai river valleys, the land of the people who spoke the Enga language. The Enga speakers turned out to be the largest single language group in the entire territory.⁴⁶ The first group to cross the mountains from Ogelbeng to Yaramanda, a high point from which one could look out over the Minamba and Lai valleys, numbered 240 carriers, three Australian missionaries, five coastal Papua New Guinea missionaries and two Mt. Hagen missionaries. They arrived at Yaramanda in August of 1948 and the work began. The following paragraph from *Tok Bilong God Ran i Go* provides a good description of what happened:

In July 1948 a large group had assembled at Ogelbeng near Hagen and they were ready to come to Enga. Pastor A. P. H. Freund [Harold Freund], an experienced missionary of the ELCA at Siassi and Mr. A. Kleinig, a carpenter also of this mission,

⁴⁵ J. R. Hartwig, ed., *The Challenge*, 1967, (Annual Magazine of the New Guinea Missions of the Lutheran Church of Australia, 1967), 35-36.

⁴⁶ Erwin L. Spruth, "The Lutheran Church Among the Enga: New Guinea Lutheran Mission/Missouri Synod," in *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The First Hundred Years 1886-1986*, ed. Herwig Wagner and Hermann Reiner (Adelaide, SA, Australia: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986), 274.

along with Teacher Teoc and Teacher Yasaptung and three other workmen from Siassi, were ready to come and do this work. Also Pastor F. Doering, a missionary of the Lutheran Mission New Guinea at Ogelbeng along with Evangelist Pokon from Mt. Hagen and another man named Kundi, who was still learning about God's Word, also wanted to be a part of the group. Only Pokon and Kundi knew a little of the Enga language. They came with about 240 carriers to carry all of the supplies. When this big group came to Yaramanda a large number of the Yaramanda people met them. Minjuku and Kowa had prepared them. They asked the missionaries to stay at their place and showed them a large piece of land where they could do their work. At this point the missionaries agreed and established the first place where the Lutheran Church could proclaim the Good News in the area of the Enga people. They did this in August of 1948. At this time the time for work had arrived.⁴⁷

Direct LCMS involvement in the work in New Guinea came with the arrival of Rev. Willard Burce and Rev. Otto Hintze in November of 1948. In February of 1949 Burce moved to Irelya, near Wabag (the government administrative center established by the Australian administration) in response to an invitation by Yangomane of Irelya. As Spruth notes, "Yangomane recalled one of the dreams and prophecies of his father Taingane: 'When someone comes with "white skin," the people will live in peace and have plenty. They will find the way to the skyland, and fulfill all of their longings.' Spurred on by these ideas, Yangomane looked for a missionary to come to his place."⁴⁸

Hintze remained at Yaramanda working with Freund until Freund returned to Siassi to continue the work he had been involved in before World War II.⁴⁹ Thus by 1950 the work of the LCMS had been established in New Guinea with the help of Australian missionaries who had experience in New Guinea and with the continued assistance of New Guineans from the coast and from the Ogelbeng area. The work of the LCMS became incorporated in New Guinea under the name New Guinea Lutheran Mission (NGLM). This

⁴⁷ Spruth, *Tok Bilong God Ran i Go*, 55. In Melanesian Pidgin: "Long Julai 1948 wanpela bikpela lain i stap long Ogelbeng long hap bilong Hagen na ol i redi long kam long Enga. Pasto A. P. H. Freund, wanpela lapun misineri bilong wok misin bilong ELCA long Siassi na Mr. A. Kleinig, wanpela kamda bilong dispela misin tu, wantaim Tisa Teoc na Tisa Yasaptung na tripela arapela wokman bilong Siassi, ol i redi long kam na mekim dispela wok. Na tu Pasto F. Doering, misinari bilong Lutheran Misin Niu Gini (LMNG) long Ogelbeng wantaim Ivanselis Pokon bilong Mt. Hagen na narapela man Kundi, em i wok long kisim Tok bilong God yet, ol tu i laik kam. Pokon na Kundi em tupela tasol i save liklik long tokples Enga. Ol i kam wantaim 240 kagoboi samting bilong karim olgeta kago. Taim dispela bikpela lain i kam long Yaramanda, bikpela lain pipel bilong Yaramanda i bungim ol. Minjuku na Kowa i bin redim ol. Ol i askim misinari long stap long ples bilong ol na soim ol wanpela bikpela hap graun long mekim wok bilong ol. Orait ol misinari i tok yesa na sanapim nambawan ples bilong Lutheran Sios i ken kamapim Gutnius insait long hap bilong Enga."

⁴⁸ Spruth, "Lutheran Church Among the Enga," 278.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 282.

was the counterpart of the Lutheran Mission New Guinea, the body made up of overseas churches from Australia, the United States and Germany involved in the work which had begun on the coast and moved inland to the Mt. Hagen area. The desire of the Enga people to hear more of the Gospel combined with the shortages caused by World War II brought the LCMS into some of the most rugged mountains in the central highlands of New Guinea to take up the task of proclaiming the Good News of Jesus Christ.

III. Nine Years of Work Leading to the First Baptisms

A. A Brief Look at What “Theological Education” Means

As was noted in the preface, one of the issues that developed as this study began was how to define the term “theological education.” In the American, Lutheran framework one might begin by thinking of theological education as that education which takes place at a seminary and leads to ordination. Yet one has to ask: Is theological education taking place in the Lutheran teacher training programs? Is theological education taking place in congregational Bible study classes? Is theological education taking place in confirmation classes?

Articles such as “The Lutheran Teacher—Minister of the Church” by Rev. Dr. Paul A. Zimmerman and “A. C. Stelthorn and the Lutheran Teacher in Ministry” by William Rietschel in *Perspectives on Ministry*⁵⁰ indicate that similar questions are being considered within LCMS circles. A broader picture of what could or should be included in the discussion of current western theological education is addressed by Edward Farley in *Theologia: The Fragmentation and Unity of Theological Education*. In his preface to the book he writes, “Accordingly, while the essay is focused on clergy education, it is really about all education which purports to promote a Christian *paideia* or which would interpret the Christian religion.”⁵¹

In addition, a report by Arthur C. Repp addresses the topic of ministry and the

⁵⁰ W. Theophil Janzow, ed., *Perspectives on Ministry* (River Forest, IL: Lutheran Education Association, 1981). Article by Paul A. Zimmerman titled “The Lutheran Teacher—Minister of the Church,” pages 9–22. Article by William Rietschel titled “A. C. Stelthorn and the Lutheran Teacher in Ministry,” pages 23–37.

⁵¹ Edward Farley, *Theologia: The Fragmentation and Unity of Theological Education* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), xi.

future of church worker training in Papua New Guinea. Repp writes:

Work in towns and other populated centers will imply new types of ministries, diversified and team, to cope with problems still unknown and to search after answers which may be long in coming. For such a task a highly qualified ministry will be needed, not only to personally serve in this capacity but also to prepare its laity for a new type of ministry. When we consider that a town like Lae has an estimated nine to twelve thousand Lutherans but only about three thousand of whom are now being reached, the task seems to offer a challenge far beyond present capacities.⁵²

It is clear that the phrase theological education cannot be as easily defined as it might seem at first glance. Add the complications that come as theological education moves into a culture in which European/North American-style organized education did not exist before 1948 and one ends up with many more questions. In a sense the term “theological education,” with the ambiguities it has in the western context, ends up being something brought in from the outside, which will eventually acquire its own definition in the “Enga-land” setting. The book *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* by Lamin Sanneh provides some interesting insights into the process of transition from one culture to another. Although this book focuses on Bible translation, it allows one to get a feel for how the definition of theological education needs to be considered in the context in which the specific theological education developed.⁵³

With that background, it seems that one way to proceed is to look briefly at what happened as the church grew and developed among the Enga people and to form a definition of theological education as it developed there rather than imposing one from an outside perspective. Obviously the way the church has defined theological education down through the ages should not be ignored. And yet, allowing an outside definition to dictate what theological education is and what it is not does not allow for the unique things which may be happening in a particular place and time.

One way of learning about theological education from a Papua New Guinea perspective is to put the question directly to those who have been involved in ministry with

⁵² Arthur C. Repp, “Report in Reference to Martin Luther Seminary, Lae, T.P.N.G.” (Presented to The Board of Ministerial Training and for use by the Faculty and Board of Control of Martin Luther Seminary and the Lutheran Churches and Mission of New Guinea, Lae, T.P.N.G., December 10–11, 1968), 8. Repp also discusses ministry in relation to Augsburg Confession XIV and the call to the public ministry, 12–18.

⁵³ Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1989).

the Gutnius Lutheran Church. In a survey⁵⁴ sent to former missionaries who served the Gutnius Lutheran Church, the following question was posed: "Should the early pre-baptism classes be considered theological education? If yes, why? If no, why not?" Some of the respondents felt that the term "theological education" should not be applied to early pre-baptism classes. Rather, as a technical term it should be reserved for the "secondary discourse, which is more reflective, more systematic, and even more critical than the primary discourse ('God loves you'), in order precisely to sharpen the primary discourse. To help the pastor proclaim 'God loves you' more effectively."⁵⁵ A similar thought was that pre-baptism instruction "should be 'technically' kept separate from course work that is designed to lead men to ordination,"⁵⁶ thus equating "theological education" with that which leads to ordination. Another respondent indicated a broader view of theological education by saying that pre-baptismal classes "by their very nature . . . present the seminal ideas against which any future theological education is measured in the individual's life."⁵⁷

In an effort to get at the question from a Papua New Guinean perspective the following question was asked of Papua New Guineans who have been involved in ministry, both in congregations and in the training of pastors and evangelists: "How did the things you learned when you were preparing for baptism or confirmation help you prepare for proclaiming the gospel?"⁵⁸ Pastor Dani Kopa has served as a pastor, as a hospital chaplain, and as a teacher, assistant principal and principal at Timothy Lutheran Seminary (TLS). He answered by saying: "It helped me be clear about the Word of God and about the Christian and Lutheran faith so that I could help others learn and understand God's Word and faith which is true and matches with God's Word."⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Survey questions are listed in Appendix A. Surveys were distributed during January 2001. Responses were received through July 2002.

⁵⁵ Marcus Felde survey response. He served as a missionary in PNG from 1975 to 1982 and from 1990 to 1996.

⁵⁶ Mark Schroeder survey response. He served as a missionary in PNG from 1984 to 1988.

⁵⁷ Karl Reko survey response. He served as a missionary in PNG from 1966 to 1971.

⁵⁸ The question in Melanesian Pidgin: "Ol samting yu bin kisim save long en taim yu bin wok long redi long kisim baptais o kisim konfemesen i bin helpim yu long redi long autim Gutnius olsem wanem?"

⁵⁹ Dani Kopa, a pastor in the GLC, responded in Melanesian Pidgin: "Helpim mi klia long tok bilong God, no Kristen bilip wantaim bilip bilong Luteran, bai mi ken helpim ol arapela i kisim save na klia long tok bilong God wantaim bilip i stret na fit wantaim tok bilong God."

Pastor Moses Kombe is a former evangelist and a graduate of Timothy Lutheran Seminary who has served as a congregational pastor and is now the headmaster of one of the bible schools currently being operated by the Gutnius Lutheran Church. He describes the process as clearly teaching people involved in pre-baptism and confirmation instruction to be able to understand the Word and to speak it. It is likely that he is thinking of Bible stories and memorization of *Luther's Small Catechism*. (A diglot version of *Luther's Small Catechism* in the Enga and Melanesian Pidgin languages was printed at Timothy Lutheran Seminary during the late 1980s and 1990s and was the most popular book sold through the Timothy Lutheran Seminary bookstore.) He adds: "When they have gained strength and are a little older, then it is important to send them to do some work in a congregation where there is a need for evangelistic work or where there is no workman. If the person does good work for a couple of years, then send him to a bible school and on to seminary."⁶⁰

In another survey question, Moses Kombe describes what he experienced as a young man, a process similar to the one he outlines above. His description fits with what happens in the teenage years for young men in the Enga culture today. Gone are the old initiation rites when a young man (12 to 16 years old) was taken off into the forest and initiated into manhood. Gone is the ceremony with which a young boy moved from being a part of his mother's house to being a part of the tribal men's house, a time during which he learned the responsibilities of being a man and proved himself. For the young men involved in the church, the process is somewhat parallel to the older model but with the focus changed to becoming an active part of the community of faith. Here theological

⁶⁰ Moses Kombe, a pastor of the GLC, responded in Melanesian Pidgin: "Lainim tok bilong God i stap long Buk Baibel. Em i stap olsem lainim man, na bihain olgeta tok i stap long tingting bilong ol na ol i autim long maus. Orait bihain ol i givim Baptais na Konfemesen klas. Na taim ol i kamap strong inap winim sampela yia, ol i salim em na traim em long mekim sampela wok long Kongrigesen. Olsem wok misin sait o long ol Kongrigesen i sot long ol wokman. Ol i lukim olsem, em inap i stap sampela yia na wok bilong em i kamap gutpela, orait ol i salim em long Baibel Skul, na bihain i go long semineri." Literal translation: "Teach him God's Word as it is in the Bible. He is at that time a student and then when he knows this material he can speak it with his mouth. Then he will be in baptism and/or confirmation class. When he becomes strong and is older they can send him to try and do some work in a congregation. Like some mission outreach or at a congregation which doesn't have a workman. If they see that he does well at this work for some years and develops well then he should be sent to Bible School and after that go to seminary."

education is considered a training process which starts when one learns Biblical materials and continues through various stages which could go all the way to becoming a seminary graduate. Rather than giving a theological analysis of what theological education is (or should be), Moses has described the process that he has seen take place, one that he has participated in and that he deems appropriate for a culture that has shifted from no Christian involvement to one where Christianity is a part of what it means to be an Enga man.

B. Pre-Baptism Instruction Is Received, Then Passed Along

We have already seen various views of what theological education is and what might be included in it. In this section we will look at the time before the first baptisms took place, before there was a church. Can anything from that time help in defining theological education? The following paragraph by Rev. Erwin Spruth speaks directly to the situation:

There continued to be more calls from people who wanted to hear the Gospel than there were workers. There were as yet, no baptized Enga Christians; but there were some 540 adults enrolled in membership classes, and it was from this group that much of the manpower came to meet the requests of people for the Good News. Catechumens were instructed each day from Monday to Friday. Those who were able to communicate what they had been taught were sent out on Saturday and Sunday to share the message of the Word they had learnt that week. Thus, from the very earliest years of the life of the Enga Church, local people were engaged in the task of sharing the Gospel with their own people. Control was still being exercised by missionaries from the outside of Enga-land, but the work was already in the hands of God's people in this place.⁶¹

Even before the first baptisms there was significant effort on the part of the catechumens to communicate, to the people who were not a part of the weekly gathering, what they had learned during the week. The main teaching was still in the hands of the missionaries, such as decisions on which Bible stories to teach and what the standards were for having "fully learned" the stories. Who was ready to be "sent out on Saturday and Sunday to share the message of the Word they had learnt that week" was still being decided by the missionaries, and no doubt, the missionaries made the final decisions as to where the catechumen students were sent. But rather than "being required" by the

⁶¹ Spruth, "Lutheran Church Among the Enga," 284-85.

missionaries to go out, there seems to have been a willingness and a desire on the part of the Enga people to take this new message farther out among the people.

In response to the question about whether or not pre-baptism classes should be considered theological education, Rev. Harley Kopitske, a former Papua New Guinea missionary who has also served as a congregational pastor in the United States and as a professor at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis wrote:

Yes, certainly. Catechumens are learning work of and word about God. And bright students from these catechumen classes were recognized by their fellow Christians of the same class or congregation and although illiterate, having memorized all verbatim for at least two years of their instruction period, were called or appointed and sent to assemble and teach satellite groups of catechumens in population pockets around the geographical vicinity of the congregation.⁶²

Kopitske's comments concerned the time after the first baptisms had taken place and some congregations were already established. Yet they give a picture similar to what Spruth described as the Lutheran church continued to expand into the area of the New Guinea highlands where the Enga-speaking people lived. It was a situation driven by the need to send out people with the Good News. Requests for people to bring this new talk, this Good News and all that came with it, similar to the requests made by Minjuku and Kowa of Yaramanda and Yangomane of Irelya, continued to come to the newly-established mission. Yet there were not enough "outside missionaries" (expatriates or coastals) to go around. Thus "their fellow Christians of the same class or congregation" along with the missionaries agreed to "call or appoint and send out" the most capable students to "assemble and teach the satellite groups of catechumens in population pockets around the geographical vicinity of the congregation." Was it a call and appointment process as sophisticated and organized as we in the LCMS have established? Probably not. However, it was a way, seemingly the best and possibly the only way, to respond to requests for the proclamation of the Good News. The essence of this new religion was still fresh in the minds of the catechumens and it was now they who were privileged to go and tell others this same message!

Although it has been suggested above that the term "theological education" includes something more than what is done in pre-baptismal or confirmation classes, the events

⁶² Harley Kopitske survey response. He served as a missionary in PNG from 1960 to 1974.

which took place during the expansion of the Lutheran church among the Enga people would seem to indicate that the pre-baptismal classes did constitute the beginning of training for proclamation of the Gospel in what would eventually become the Gutnius Lutheran Church. Although the work described by Spruth and Kopitske may have been nothing more than going out and repeating what they had already learned, it was part of the spread of the Gospel and the beginning of ministry for many of the early evangelists and pastors.

Furthermore, it could be argued that there was significant reflection going on as the message was repeated and compared and contrasted with the lives of the people. Yet was this in itself the end of theological education, or should it be the final definition of theological education for the Gutnius Lutheran Church? Not at all. However, it *was* part of the development of theological education as the church moved into new areas. In a sense, it was theological education driven by the need to proclaim the Gospel. It may not have had the critical component of being systematic or leading to ordination which Felde and Schroeder indicate should be included when one uses the term theological education. However, before that critical component can develop, the initial learning and proclaiming which results in local people coming face to face with the issues and beginning to wrestle with them must happen. That in itself seems to be a necessary part of theological education. Thus, it seems appropriate to consider the “nine years of work leading to the first baptisms” a part of true theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church.

In addition, one has to wonder if that same scenario is not helpful for the work happening in other parts of the world today, including in North America. The framework in which the church operates seems to be so carefully defined and laid out that anything which may be a bit out of the ordinary is looked at as inappropriate. Yet as the work of dealing with other cultures and languages is more and more a part of the North American scene, it could be that being willing to broaden some definitions or to work with a wider definition of what it means to be involved in theological education would help the church rather than weaken it. The beginning of the work among the Enga people almost seems to follow the principle developed by John Nevius in China: “It is our aim that each man, woman, and child shall be both a learner from someone more advanced, and a teacher of

someone less advanced.”⁶³ It seems to have worked well in Papua New Guinea and also in Korea where it was applied as the Presbyterian church began work there. Perhaps it is a theological education strategy which needs further consideration in North America as we enter the twenty-first century.

⁶³ John L. Nevius, *Methods of Mission Work*, 17, via the Christian Digital Library Foundation
Electronic texts at <http://www.chclf.org/ftp/> on 1 August 2002.

IV. The First Formal Training Program: Birip School for Church Workers

A. The Baptisms and Theological Reflection

The “official” results of the first nine years of work by overseas and Papua New Guinean missionaries among the Enga people were the first baptisms by the Lutheran church. As Spruth notes, the baptisms were accompanied by significant changes in the lives of the people among whom the Word was being proclaimed.

First at Irelya in January 1957, then at Yaramanda and Yaibos, groups of Enga people were baptized into the Lord Jesus Christ. At the end of the year, the church had a membership of 658 baptized, 403 of whom were communicants. Thousands were enrolled in membership [pre-baptism] classes as the Spirit of the Lord moved people throughout the area. Congregations were organized; cooperation was begun between groups that had once been at war with one another; and the local Christians began to take on some of the responsibility for Christ’s mission in this place.⁶⁴

The cooperation that began included much more than reconciling old enemies. Part of the discussions included what it meant in daily life to become a Christian. Already in 1956, prior to the first baptisms,

there had been meetings between the leaders of the various catechumen classes to discuss common matters of practice and commitment. The men who would later be the leaders of the young church came together from all the centres from Yaramanda to Papayuku. They agreed that certain practices of the Enga people such as the *tee* (pig exchange), *laita* (death payments for children), *kumanda* (funeral customs), *sanga/sandalu* (bachelor cult) would have to be abandoned by the Christians. Some of these decisions were later modified by the Church, but a pattern for joint action and mutual decision-making was being established.”⁶⁵

Although the theological reflection that was being done by those first Christians may not be exactly the same as what Felde had in mind above (as being necessary for an activity to be called theological education) there was certainly some serious, life-changing theological reflection going on among these first Enga Lutheran Christians. Theological

⁶⁴ Spruth, “Lutheran Church Among the Enga,” 285–86.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 286.

education was not yet happening in an official academic sense, but it was happening in the lives of the people who had spent nine years learning the Word and the catechism.

B. The Baptisms and Additional Training

At the same time that theological reflection about what Christianity meant in daily life was happening among the newly baptized Enga people, there was also a recognition of the need for continued proclamation of the Gospel which had moved them to baptism. By the end of 1959,

there were 27 congregations with a total of 4,649 baptized members (3,052 confirmed), and a further 3,200 enrolled in membership classes.

Evangelists were now being sent out by the Enga congregations. In addition, elders were appointed in the various congregations so that the ministry of Word and Sacrament would continue. Each day seemed to bring new opportunities as God opened many doors and hearts to the Gospel.⁶⁶

In the book *Tok Bilong God Ran i Go* a few more details are provided about this expansion phase of the ministry. The government had allowed “outsiders” into certain areas of the highlands but declared other areas still off limits. As new areas were opened, there was an effort by the missionaries to place one expatriate in as many new areas as possible. At the same time,

The Enga congregations started to send evangelists to go and work in these areas. These Enga congregations had enough elders to be able to take care of proclaiming God’s Word, baptisms and communion in the individual congregations.⁶⁷

The Enga church itself said that they would be able to take care of supporting the evangelists and teachers in these new mission areas. This developed as the major purpose of their budget. They made this new mission work the first work of the Gutnius Lutheran Church.

All of these evangelists of the local area followed what they had seen the previous missionaries and evangelists do when they first arrived. Every morning and evening they held a little worship gathering. They called the men and women together to come and hear the Good News which would give them peace. They always worked at finding a way to speak about the Good News and helping the men and women learn well that Jesus is the most important helper they could have. In some places they gathered catechumens quickly. A major portion of the work was done by the Enga people themselves. Only at Kandep [a mission station] was an overseas missionary

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Spruth, *Tok bilong God Ran i Go*, 58. In Melanesian Pidgin: “Ol Enga kongrigesen i stat long salim ivanselis i go long mekim wok. Olgeta kongrigesen i gat hetman inap ol i ken lukautim Tok bilong God na baptais na komunion insait long kongrigesen.”

working. All of the other places had a missionary who would come around and help occasionally, but the local worker did most of the work. This new church took on a big responsibility.⁶⁸

The time and the setting had changed. Baptisms had taken place and the new believers were forming congregations. Partly from what they had learned from the New Testament and partly as a result of encouragement by missionaries, they began establishing worship groups in their home areas.

At the same time new areas were being opened. The Enga Christians began seeing a need to take on the responsibility of proclaiming the Gospel in these new areas. It was no longer a weekend exercise to take what had been learned during the week and spend the weekend retelling the story. These evangelists and teachers were moving to new areas and becoming “full-time” church workers, supported by the Enga congregations “back home.” Although the expatriate missionaries would be able to check on the work from time to time, there were not enough expatriates to go around, and in many areas the bulk of the work would need to be done by the Enga evangelists and teachers.

Evangelists and teachers are often thought of separately with evangelists being more focused on worship and catechetical activities while teachers gathered children and taught the basics of math, Melanesian Pidgin (which was already in use on the coast but not in the Enga area) and basic reading and writing. However, their work often overlapped as is usually the case when there is more work than people to do it. Thus evangelists and teachers, although they had different training and responsibilities, were both involved in proclaiming the Good News.

At this point, a brief note needs to be made about the development of a national church. The Enga people traditionally followed a local leadership pattern. The community

⁶⁸ Ibid., 60. In Melanesian Pidgin: “Enga Sios yet em i tok em inap lukautim ol ivanselis na tisa long dispela wok misin. Em i kamap olsem nambawan bikpela mak long baset bilong ol. Ol i makim tru dispela wok misin em i nambawan wok bilong Gutnius Lutheran Church.”

“Ol dispela ivanselis bilong ples ol i bihainim pasin ol i bin lukim long ol man i bin tok bipo long Krai Jisas pastaim. Olgeta moning na olgeta nait ol i gat liklik lotu. Ol i singautim manmeri long kam na harim dispela Gutnius bilong mekim bel isi. Olgeta taim ol i painim rot long tokaut long Gutnius na long helpim manmeri i save gut long Jisas em i nambawan helpim bilong ol. Long sampela ples ol i kisim *mana nyingi* kwiktaim. Bikpela wok bai ol pipel bilong Enga yet i mekim. Long Kandep tasol ol i gat wanpela ovasis misineri em i wok. Ol arapela ples i gat wanpela man i go helpim ol wanwan taim, tasol man long ples yet i mekim wok. Dispela nupela Sios i bin kisim wanpela bikpela wok tru.”

had its own way of acknowledging the people who were leaders. It was more of a consensus agreement based on what the people observed than a western decision made by voting by a show of hands. At times there were conflicts with the way missionaries wanted to do things, but eventually the congregations organized themselves along Enga lines while adopting some of the things which the missionaries recommended. However, there was no real pattern for anything larger than a local clan. As the government and the mission brought in the western idea of one person or committee overseeing a large area, it had an influence on the people who were becoming involved with the Lutheran church. "The mission . . . has a president who is over all of the work in all areas, so now the people also thought it was good if the church followed this way of doing things."⁶⁹

After the first series of baptisms in 1957 and 1958, the missionaries gathered together leaders of the newly-baptized Christians. They discussed with them ways in which they could work together to continue the task of proclaiming the Good News and also to be recognized by the government as an organization in the Territory of New Guinea. This would enable them to apply for educational assistance funds from the territorial government. With these challenges and opportunities before them, the Enga leaders worked with the mission leaders. In 1961 there was a gathering of delegates from 48 Enga Lutheran congregations that agreed to a constitution and to the establishment of the Wabag Lutheran Church (WLC).⁷⁰ From that time until 1973, there were two parallel organizations: the New Guinea Lutheran Mission (the missionary administrative structure) and the Wabag Lutheran Church (the newly-formed Enga Lutheran church).

⁶⁹ Ibid., 103. In Melanesian Pidgin: "Pasin bilong lida bilong Nesenel Sios i kamap olsem wanpela nupela pasin bilong pipel bilong GLC. Olgeta dispela lain Enga na arapela manmeri i join long Gutnius Lutheran Church i no bin i gat wanpela nesenel lida bilong ol bipo. Olgeta wanwan lain i gat sampela lida bilong ol yet. Wanwan taim i gat bikpela *komongo* olgeta man i save long em, tasol em i no gat pawa long mekim wok long arapela ples. Taim gavman na misin i no kamap yet, i no gat wanpela man i stap lida bilong olgeta hap bilong Enga Provins na arapela provins insait long Hailans bilong Papua Niugini. Tasol nau i luk olsem planti kongrigesen i yesa long dispela nupela pasin bilong lida. Ating gavman tu i helpim dispela aidia, long wanem, ol i gat sampela opisa bilong ol i save bosim ples, na Misin tu i gat Presiden i save bosim wok long olgeta hap, orait nau pipel tu i ting em i gutpela sapos Sios i bihainim dispela pasin."

⁷⁰ Ibid., 83. In Melanesian Pidgin: "Wanpela bikpela lain deliget i pesman bilong 48 Enga kongrigesen i gat memba bilong ol long 5,436 manmeri i save kaikai komunion (8,813 i bin baptais), i bin bung long Irelya long Me 16 inap long 19, 1961, long yesa long wanpela Konstitusen na long sanapim Wabag Luteran Sios."

In the early 1970s several different events, including issues within the LCMS (1974) and the declaration of independence that created Papua New Guinea as an independent country (1975), brought about the ending of the New Guinea Lutheran Mission organization and a more complete development of the leadership role of the Wabag Lutheran Church. By 1978 the number of WLC congregations which were outside of the Enga language group had grown to the point that the decision was made to change the name from Wabag Lutheran Church to Gutnius Lutheran Church, which is still being used today. Gutnius is the Melanesian Pidgin word for Good News.⁷¹

Returning to our focus on theological education, the next question which needs attention is “What about training?” There had not been a formal training program yet. How then did these new Christians become trained evangelists and teachers? The training which the elders, evangelists and teachers went through to become qualified for taking on these responsibilities is not well documented. However, part of the answer to that question lies in the sentence, “All of these evangelists of the local area followed what they had seen the previous missionaries and evangelists do when they first arrived.” Traditional education among the Enga people was mostly done by observation and imitation rather than through formal education programs. After talking with those who were part of this stage of development in the church among the Enga, it became clear that one way of learning and preparing for the task was to be a translator or a general helper for a missionary when he was teaching, preaching, baptizing or celebrating Holy Communion. It was a form of apprenticeship. Others have mentioned specific classes, held as the need arose, to prepare certain men for the task at hand. One such course was held as early as October of 1957 when “there was a special course at Yaramanda for all of the men who were working as

⁷¹ Spruth, “Lutheran Church Among the Enga,” 301, footnote 1. In much of Spruth’s writing he uses Gutnius Lutheran Church or GLC to refer to all of the “organized” work of the Lutheran church which developed out of the mission work which began among the Enga people in 1948 even though at times it actually refers to the previous name of Wabag Lutheran Church. In this paper I have chosen to use the name Wabag Lutheran Church where appropriate to fit the historical setting. In essence the only difference is one of timing as the GLC is in reality the continuation of the WLC. This is not to say that things were always smooth and harmonious in the transitions but ultimately the transitions were made and the GLC is the outcome of that work which began among the Enga people in 1948.

evangelists and elders.”⁷² It seems to have been a somewhat informal way of providing training when the need arose and when the people were ready and willing to take on the challenge placed before them by the Good News.

As we noted above, the congregations began to respond to the need for providing evangelists to new places, and the ministry at the “sending” congregations was carried on by those who had been chosen as elders. Again, these were men who had excelled in baptism classes and assisted missionaries as opportunities arose. It is at this point that a difference developed between the practice of the work in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea (ELC—PNG) and what was to become the Gutnius Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea (GLC—PNG). The practice in the ELC—PNG was, and in many areas continues to this day, that only pastors could perform Baptisms and celebrate Holy Communion. However, the demand for continuing expansion and the lack of enough pastors among the Enga seems to have moved the church leaders, both missionaries and Enga Christians, to depart from this tradition and allow evangelists and elders, who had received necessary training and approval in the form of a call from the congregation, to baptize and celebrate Communion. Although by the mid-1990s this was standard practice in the Gutnius Lutheran Church, there were times when students who were part of the ELC—PNG but were attending Timothy Lutheran Seminary would acknowledge the difference in practice from what they were used to in their home congregations. *Tok Bilong God Ran i Go* by Spruth briefly describes this difference from the perspective of the coastal evangelists and teachers:

Men who had worked as evangelists and teachers in their home place were not allowed to baptize anyone or give them the Lord’s supper. They also were not allowed to hear confession and pronounce absolution. The other church [ELC—PNG] had given this work to pastors only. In the Enga church they followed a different way of doing things. They encouraged each congregation to mark [elect, call, identify] one elder [leader] who was able to proclaim the Gospel and to give

⁷² Spruth, *Tok Bilong God Ran i Go*, 79. In Melanesian Pidgin: “Long Oktoba ol i gat wanpela spesil kos long Yaramanda bilong olgeta man i holim wok ivanselis no hetman. Dispela taim sampela man long narapela narapela kongrigesen i kam bung na kisim save long arapela brata.”

Baptism and Communion to all of the people in the congregation. Almost all of the Enga congregations marked an elder like this.⁷³

Once again the need to proclaim the Gospel was driving what the church did next in its development and in theological education. With the need to proclaim the Gospel at the forefront, the Enga people were moved to send out from their midst those who knew the Gospel best. The result was a need to have more training for those who would continue to work in the established congregations. Reflecting on what happened when the early Enga Christians decided to send their own trained leaders out to new areas, Rev. Harley Kopitske responded to the survey question “How was Birip School for Church Workers started?” with the following:

The people immediately recognized the need they themselves had created by sending their best men off to new areas. They wanted Birip. The WLC [Wabag Lutheran Church] Convention was a prime source of education, motivation, inspiration for congregations and circuits to follow through with pre-sem recruitment and training, finding land and location suitable, having NGLM [New Guinea Lutheran Mission] negotiate a ‘lease’ contributing to building of dorms & classrooms, *ples kik* [sports field], garden areas, banana groves, etc.⁷⁴

Responding to the same question, Rev. Dr. Otto Hintze brought in the role which missionaries played when he wrote, “It was the missionaries who initiated it [the school at Birip]. Engas had no concept on their own of the needs of the church in the future that would require theological education.”⁷⁵ Hintze’s comments indicate that what was happening was something that was basically unknown among the Enga people. It involved crossing tribal lines, developing something larger and more complex than the tribe, and learning of things their ancestors had never known about. They were moving outside of their world view. In *Tok Bilong God Ran i Go*, Spruth elaborates on Hintze’s comments, indicating that in January of 1958 at the missionary conference it was agreed that “the Mission should at this time work to initiate a gathering of all of the leaders of the

⁷³ Ibid., 35. In Melanesian Pidgin: “Man i mekim wok ivanselis no tisa long ples bilong ol yet, ol i no inap givim baptais long wanpela manmeri na ol i no inap givim ol kaikai bilong Bikipela. Ol tu i no gat nem long harim sin bilong man na tekewe sin. Arapela sios i bin putim dispela wok long pasto tasol. Long Enga sios, ol i bin mekim narapela pasin liklik. Ol i bin strongim wanwan kongrigesen long makim wanpela hetman husat inap tokaut long Gutnius, na givim baptais na givim komunion long ol pipel wantaim. Klostu olgeta Enga kongrigesen i bin makim hetman olsem.”

⁷⁴ Kopitske survey response.

⁷⁵ Otto Hintze survey response. He was a missionary in PNG from 1948 to 1965.

congregations which had been established among the Enga."⁷⁶ Although the first meeting took place in May of 1958 and was run by the missionaries, "many of the local men talked and they all agreed on the decisions."⁷⁷ The major decision at that meeting was to have another meeting at which a much broader representation of the Enga Lutheran leaders would be present. The agenda for this next meeting was left in the hands of the NGLM Evangelism Committee (missionaries) and among the nine agenda items was the need to "establish a training school for evangelists and elders of the congregations."⁷⁸

The expatriate missionaries could see that they were not able to meet the rapidly increasing requests for Gospel proclamation even with the assistance they had from the coastal evangelists and teachers. They also saw the increasing need to cross the traditional boundaries which the Enga people usually did not cross. Speaking from this perspective, Dr. Hintze correctly emphasized the input from the missionaries. At the same time, the Enga Christians were clearly responding to the urging from the missionaries to become even more involved in the work than they had been before. The following sentences indicate the significance of the next meeting:

This meeting of all the Enga leaders at Yaramanda in 1959 was a major event which marked the development of this church [what became the WLC] as a big church. It is correct that they didn't approve a constitution at this time, that happened a little later. However, all of the leaders of the Enga congregations said that they wanted to work together and they knew if they worked together they would be able to do significant things. . . . Those at this major meeting agreed that they must start to work on the training school for church leaders at Birip. They agreed that they would be able to establish this school. They also said that they wanted to put their blessing on this new school.⁷⁹

Thus, although Hintze is correct that the idea for the school was initiated by the

⁷⁶ Spruth, *Tok Bilong God Ran i Go*, 79. In Melanesian Pidgin: "Olsem long Konfrens bilong Misin long Janueri 1958, ol i kamapim wanpela tok bilong Misin mas wok nau long trai long kamapim wanpela bung bilong olgeta lida bilong ol kongrigesen i stap pinis insait long Enga."

⁷⁷ Ibid., 80. In Melanesian Pidgin: "Long dispela taim misinari Burce i stap siaman gen. Ivanselism Komiti Seketeri bilong Misin, Pasto W. Wagner, em i bin raitim minis, tasol planti lokal man i bin toktok na ol yet i pasim tok wantaim."

⁷⁸ Ibid., 80-81. In Melanesian Pidgin: "9. Kirapim trening skul bilong ivanselis na hetman bilong kongrigesen."

⁷⁹ Ibid., 81-82. In Melanesian Pidgin: "Dispela miting bilong ol Enga lida long Yaramanda long 1959 em i wanpela mak bilong dispela sios i kirap olsem wanpela Bikpela Sios. Tru, ol i no yesa long konstitusen long dispela taim, em i kamap bihain liklik, tasol ol lida bilong kongrigesen bilong Enga i tok long ol i laik bung wantaim na ol i save sapos ol i join, ol inap mekim bikpela wok i ken kamap. . . . Dispela bikpela miting i tok ol i mas go het long dispela trening skul bilong sios lida long Birip. Ol i tok ol inap sanapim dispela skul. Na tu, ol i tok ol i laik putim blesing long dispela nupela skul."

missionaries, Kopitske has captured the essence of the Enga people making this new training program a real part of their church and not simply something the missionaries pushed them to do.

A pamphlet entitled *The First Fifteen Years* provides a few more details of the actual setting up of the Birip School for Church Workers.

In 1959 the convention of congregations that now make up the Wabag Lutheran Church discussed the need for a school at which elders and evangelists could receive more concentrated training and resolved to establish a school for that purpose at Birip.

During the following year the mission assigned Rev. Willard Burce as principal of the proposed school. The congregations of the Yaibos circuit, in which Birip is located, provided a sturdy, well-built, one-room thatched school building. Funds from the Wabag Lutheran Church treasury were used to build the living quarters for the students. The Birip Lutheran School for Church Workers became a reality in May 1960, when the first group of 36 students was enrolled.

The aim of this school is to supply the growing church with evangelistic workers. Students are selected for training by the congregations and the circuits of the church. Many of them have already been engaged in church work for a number of years. Beyond his congregation's recommendation, the student must possess a moderate ability to read and write in the vernacular. Most of the students are married.⁸⁰

Since this pamphlet covers the first fifteen years, it must be reporting on events between 1948 and 1963. Yet the phrases "church work" and "a number of years" in the last paragraph above bring questions to mind. What kind of church work? How many years? A western, precision-minded individual would like very specific answers to these questions. However, in a Papua New Guinea frame of reference the answers are not as clear. If one considers the weekend proclamation of the Good News as learned in pre-baptism classes to be "church work," then some of the students could have already been involved in church work for five or six years before the opening of the school at Birip. If one limits "church work" to that which was done after the first baptisms in late 1957, the "number of years" would be limited to three or less of "church work."

It seems that the best way to understand the phrases "church work" and "number of years" is in the wider sense of being involved in proclamation of the Good News at the request of others—whether of the missionaries, of fellow catechumens, or of people in a place where one visits for a few days. This does not necessarily fit with the current questions asked in LCMS circles related to what it takes to be included on the official roster

⁸⁰ *The First Fifteen Years: The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, Board for World Missions, 1948–1963* (St. Louis, MO: Board for World Missions, 1963), 16.

of the church. However, in Papua New Guinea there was no roster! There was the Good News and there were those who were learning it and those who had not yet heard anything about it. In that context, whenever a person told someone else the Good News he was a “church worker.”

Other questions which come to mind are related to the results of attendance at the Birip School for Church Workers. What kind of a degree did students graduate with? How long did they study? How did their service change as a result of attending this school? According to Willard Burce who started the school, “The curriculum seeks to further the student’s knowledge and personal application of the Scriptures and Scriptural doctrine, increase his basic literacy, enhance his ability to witness his Christian faith, and aid him in the building of the church.”⁸¹ Part of the task of theological education was developing the necessary concepts and vocabulary in the Enga language, which until the arrival of missionaries had not been a written language. From the beginning, the work focused on both evangelism and literacy development at the same time. The Enga language was being reduced to writing, national teachers from the coastal areas were among the first missionaries, and reading and writing was being taught as part of the pre-baptism classes. Thus, part of the period of study was spent working with the students to improve and develop the language and communication of the theological concepts related to the basic Bible stories and the catechism. It is not unlike the task of an American pastor engaging in word studies even though there are dozens of English translations. The Word was being proclaimed among the Enga people, and yet there were a lot of concepts which needed continued work, both from the Biblical perspective and from the Enga perspective.

C. What the Additional Training Included

The focus of this theological education program seems to have been viewed in various ways by different people involved. For some, the name of the program was significant in expressing what it was about. “Birip School for Church Workers” was not to be viewed as a place to train only pastors. The church was starting from nothing. As

⁸¹ Ibid.

the church developed, it was clear that various things needed to be done in the church which did not need to be, or could not be, done by missionaries alone. Thus Birip School for Church Workers was established in an effort to meet the various needs of the church.

In response to a survey question about what different programs were offered at Birip School for Church Workers, Rev. Karl Stotik noted, "I don't think the courses were geared to a particular church position." He indicated that "history, social studies, all kinds of NT [New Testament] courses, health & hygiene" were included as part of the program.⁸² The same emphasis with a bit more detail is found in the following description published in 1963:

Men who have studied at Birip are already serving in many positions of responsibility in the church. Though not yet designated as pastors, many of them carry out pastoral duties and have been authorized by their congregations and circuits to preach, instruct catechumens, administer the sacraments, and assist and supervise elders and evangelists who have had less training. Former students are serving as head evangelists in three of the new areas. At its recent convention the Wabag Lutheran Church elected a Board of Directors consisting entirely of former Birip students.⁸³

As one thinks through the above description it is important to keep in mind that this was published in 1963, only the fourth year of the school's operation. As noted above, much of what happened developed as the work progressed. Thus it is important not to put too much western dressing on the words that are used. If the men who studied at Birip were doing all of the things listed, were they not in essence already pastors? Perhaps they were. But another part of the question is, who had the authority to designate what the term "pastor" meant in that setting? Also, does the term "former students" mean that they just studied for a while and left, or does it mean that they completed a specific program and were sent out to work with the expectation of returning for further training? Once again, it is important to keep in mind the broad needs of the church at this point in time and the accompanying need for various church-related educational programs.

The role of Birip School for Church Workers in providing a broad range of training also surfaced recently at a 1997 gathering of leaders of the Gutnius Lutheran Church who met specifically for the purpose of discussing theological education. As they reflected on the work which began at this school, they noted that:

⁸² Karl Stotik survey response. He was a missionary in PNG from 1951 to 1981.

⁸³ *The First Fifteen Years*, 16.

When this school started they did not give it the name “seminary.” They did not want the idea to develop that the only work was to train pastors as workers for the Gutnius Lutheran Church. There was a need for many kinds of workmen and workwomen in the GLC. One program which was started took five years. There were three years of training in Bible and doctrine and two separate one-year terms of practical work in a congregation or mission station.⁸⁴

Yet other reflections seem to indicate that a main role of the Birip School for Church Workers was to provide pastors for the emerging church. For example, Rev. Pia Tandao reflected on his being chosen to attend the new school at Birip with the following words: “The congregation and circuit met and sent workmen to go to school at the seminary. Also they gave money for them to go to school at the seminary. The congregation sent Rev. Pia Tandao to go and get training in the Gospel and to proclaim it to all the men and women God created and put in the towns and the bush. In other places also.”⁸⁵ Why does Pia use the word seminary if the school was not called a seminary? Again, we are dealing with language differences and time differences. The school which Pia attended was called “Birip School for Church Workers.” Since the work was being done in the Enga language, it is likely that a specific Enga word for “seminary” did not even exist when Pia attended the school. However, as he now reflects on having attended the school, which has developed into Timothy Lutheran Seminary, his response reflects what the school is called today. The same is true of the statement “The congregation sent Rev. Pia Tandao to go and get training. . .” At the time he was sent, there were no “Rev.”s in the Wabag Lutheran Church (besides the missionaries, who were not called “Rev.” but were called *Bingsu*—a term no longer in use among the Enga people, but which seems to have indicated “expatriate church leader”). Thus, from our way of thinking the congregation did

⁸⁴ Robert Newton, “Ripot long Bung Bilong Lukluk long Tiolosikal Edukesen long Gutnius Lutheran Sios, 14–16 Epril 1997,” (Report from the Gathering to Consider Theological Education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church, 14–16 April 1997), B.1.b, page 5. In Melanesian Pidgin: “Taim dispela skul i bin kamap ol i no laik givim nem seminari. Nogut wanpela tingting i kamap long wok bilong skulim ol man long wok pasto em wanpela wok tasol i stap long redim wokman bilong GLC. I bin i gat nit long kainkain wokman na wokmeri bilong GLC (man na meri wantaim). Wanpela progrem i bin kamap i kisim 5-pela yia. I gat 3-pela yia trening long Baibel na tok bilip na i gat tupela wan yia ‘wok praktikal’ long kongrigesen na misin stesen.”

⁸⁵ Pia Tandao survey response. He is a pastor in the GLC. In Melanesian Pidgin: “Kongrigesen na sorket ol miting na salim wokman i go skul long semenari. Na tu ol i givim moni tu i go skul long semenari. Kongrigesen i salim Rev. Pia Tandao i go kisim save long Gutnius na hautim ol manmeri God bin wokim ol i stap taun na bus tu. Na arapela ples wantaim.”

not send Rev. Pia Tandao, but as Pia reports it, he is indicating what the ultimate result was years after he had attended Birip School for Church Workers—namely that he became “Rev. Pia Tandao” and considers himself a seminary graduate even though the school was not a “seminary” at the time he attended it.

Rev. Karl Reko, who served as a missionary in Papua New Guinea from 1966 to 1971 (much of which time was spent at the Birip School for Church Workers) recalls:

Our curriculum for men was designed almost exclusively for clergy in congregations or serving as evangelists. As defined in Enga, this also included skills not included in Western curricula, such as geography, currency, basic math. I always felt that the faculty was not cognizant of the factors on the basis of which an individual was chosen to be the spiritual leader of a community nor the skills that person used to be effective. If that is right, we were not sure if the curriculum was as relevant to the clergy calling as it could have been.⁸⁶

Rev. Pia Tandao reflects the same sentiment with the words, “I thought I was going to school at Birip for the purpose of doing the work of a pastor. That’s all that was in my thinking.”⁸⁷ The following observation from an article published in Australia in 1967 provides a brief summary of what the additional training we have been considering looked like at that time.

At Birip we have our School for Church Workers, which grew from a small beginning in 1960—a single thatched classroom, eight thatched dormitories, and the instructor living in a utility-shed separated from his family during the week. Today there are three classrooms, two dwellings for missionary instructors, and 16 thatched dormitories. In 1965 the first class was graduated; nine are serving as pastors, and one has been called to Birip as an instructor. Enrollment now consists of 56 resident students and 33 vicars gaining experience in the field.⁸⁸

Although the intention at the beginning of the training program at Birip seems to be guided by the variety of needs for the work of the new church, as time went on the broadness of the program seems to have narrowed and focused more on a western perspective of pastoral training. Reko’s response above indicates a clergy focus, and by 1967 the Australian report was that nine were serving as pastors after being trained at Birip from 1960 to 1965. It is interesting to note that the Australian report indicates that ten graduated in 1965 while the initial start-up was with thirty-six students in 1960. In talking

⁸⁶ Reko survey response.

⁸⁷ Pastor Pia survey response. In Melanesian Pidgin: “Mi bilip long skul olsem. Mipela trening long Birip wok pasto tasol. Em tasol me save.”

⁸⁸ Hartwig, 37.

with various men who were part of the program, I learned that some of them were sent out to areas which needed additional workers and came back at a later date to complete their education. Other men dropped out after having served a period of time in a ministry position and never returned to complete the educational process.

We have seen that when one looks through the materials related to this era of theological education among the Enga Lutherans, various perspectives, contradictions and opinions emerge. As much as we would like clear definitive answers, they continue to be elusive. Part of the elusiveness can be attributed to the ever-changing face of the work and the continuing influx of missionaries. It is also due to the bringing into the work of the church Enga people with the many ideas they brought with them (including the fact that written records were not of much significance—which is still very much a part of the thinking today). Although the work at Birip School for Church Workers was done in the Enga language, there was a continual translation process going on. Melanesian Pidgin was being used among more and more young people. The coastal missionaries and the expatriate missionaries were continually working to put what they knew in their own languages and thought patterns into the Enga setting. The Enga people were learning more about the world and trying to fit it into their world view or to remodel that world view. Change was taking place, and in the midst of this change was the Good News, the central purpose for the coming together of these diverse peoples.

D. The Need to Expand and Enhance Gospel Proclamation

While it may not be possible to sort out all of the details as to who thought what about the development of the program, there seems to be no question that it was an important thing that was necessary for the continuation of the work which had begun among the Enga people. Rev. Karl Reko, reflecting on the question, “What was the student qualified for when he completed the program?” wrote:

The students were already proven leaders in their community when they came to St. Timothy. The seminary gave them rudimentary skills in Biblical interpretation from a Western perspective as well as a broader acquaintance with the world beyond PNG. They had more experience in working across clan lines. They had received the

blessing of the church to be recognized as holders of the clergy office most of them held before they came to St. Timothy.⁸⁹

It seems that those who became students at Birip School for Church Workers were not young men busy searching for a life occupation. They were members of standing in their communities and became students of this school with the desire to improve the work in which they were already involved. As Rev. Pia Tandao's comments indicate, those who came to the Birip School were sent by their communities. That fact was echoed by former missionaries, several of whom indicated that students were "chosen by circuits and nominated by congregations."⁹⁰

In a sense this additional training was another step in the development of the church among the Enga people. "Birip was the next step taken to provide the Enga church with pastors, evangelists and other church leaders."⁹¹ The exact position of those who were trained, or the title for which they qualified, was not so important as was improving the service that they provided to the church. The focus was on strengthening the work of the church both in scope and in quality. Another way of describing what happened at Birip School for Church Workers could be "in-service training." Although students already had been preaching and teaching in the church, their skills were being improved so they could be even better at communicating the Good News. The following observation by Rev. Harley Kopitske in response to the question "What was the purpose of Birip School for Church Workers when it began?" summarizes it well:

To up-grade the theological and leadership level of the best evangelists and elders in each circuit (who were functioning as pastors under the authority of the congregations that had chosen them and the oversight and continued training by the circuit expatriate missionary) so that: (a) They could do even better work. (b) The quality of workers would be more standardized and better assured (Not all circuit missionaries had equal time, gifts, or situations . . . geographical or other). (c) The WLC [Wabag Lutheran Church] wanted and needed head pastors and a sense of pride, ownership, responsibility, maturity, growth. More congregations were forming. The

⁸⁹ Reko survey response. Timothy Lutheran Seminary is the name by which Birip School for Church Workers became known after a few years. The change seems to have been gradual and no one is willing to assign an exact date to the change. More will be noted on this in a subsequent chapter.]

⁹⁰ Kopitske survey response.

⁹¹ Hintze survey response.

day of illiterate workers was passing quickly. New areas were being de-restricted and workers were needed.⁹²

The church was growing. New areas being de-restricted meant that missions were now free to move into outlying areas. The years 1948 to 1951 saw the initial Yaramanda to Wabag area opened; 1952 to 1960 saw the areas further west to Laiagam and a little north opened; 1961 to 1964 saw the Porgera, Paiela and Tarua areas, which were more to the west and north opened; 1964 to 1968 saw the Lake Kopiago area even further west opened and 1969 saw the Hewa area north of the previous areas opened.⁹³

Furthermore, the Enga setting was changing, not only in a religious sense but also in education level, in awareness of the rest of the world, in becoming part of a developing nation and in adopting new technologies and ways of living. Whenever the government decided to “de-restrict” an area and establish services, the local people were required to spend time each week developing roads and airstrips. A police and court system was set up to establish a western style of settling disputes. In 1954 a school was established by the Lutheran mission at the Amapyaka station to begin training the first Enga primary school teachers. In 1958 this school was transferred to the Pausa station and became the first high school among the Enga people. In 1956 the Australian administration declared that all recognized schools were required to use English as the language of instruction.⁹⁴ All of these things were at work forming the community in which theological education among Enga Lutherans developed during the late 1950s and the 1960s.

As was seen above, this stage of development of theological education in Papua New Guinea was not simply a transplant of European or American theological education.

⁹² Kopitske survey response. The term “de-restricted” refers to the government allowing outsiders to move into a new area. The Australian administration would not allow missions to enter an area until it was deemed to be a safe place for outsiders to enter.

⁹³ Spruth, *Tok Bilong God Ran i Go*, 52a. Map 2 displays this expansion.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 109. In Melanesian Pidgin: “Long 1954 ol i sanapim wanpela trening skul long Amapyaka. Mr. Hinlicky em i kisim 20-pela sumatin samting long givim trening long ol. Ol i bin skul pastaim long arapela skul. Taim ol i pinisim tripela yia long Amapyaka, ol i mas i go na kamap tisa long arapela liklik skul. Bihain, long 1958, Misin i salim dispela skul i go daun long Pausa an bambai i kamap St. Paul’s Luteran Hai Skul.”

“Long 1956 gavman bilong Australia i putim wanpela strongpela lo na em i senisim we bilong olgeta skul long Papua Niugini. Ol i tok long olgeta skul tru i mas skulim pikinini long Inglis. . . . Ol i mas putim olgeta tok insait long skul long tok Inglis.”

The development of theological education in the early stages required the program to be aware of where the students were starting from and what the needs of the church were at the time. These things would continue to change as the society changed and the Lutheran church developed.

Much more could be written about what happened or did not happen during this era. However, at least one of the results of what did happen has been the longevity of the service to the church provided by those first students at Birip School for Church Workers. In 1998, 38 years after the school began, a number of that first group of students were still active in the work of the Gutnius Lutheran Church. Rev. Dr. Waesa Waima⁹⁵ was one of those graduates and has served the church in presidential, Head Bishop and pastoral capacities during the past 50 years. Rev. Pia Tandao, a survey respondent, has served as a pastor and at times as a Region Bishop in the GLC during those 50 years. Rev. Philipo Paiakali continues to serve as a Region Bishop. Rev. Reo Raku, who died on Good Friday of 1998, served as a pastor and a Region Bishop during the first 50 years of the Lutheran church among the Enga people.

The theological training they received and the dedication they brought to the task are indications of what went into those early years. To be sure, things have not always gone smoothly. Many did not continue in the work. Yet “some of those who graduated from Birip continue to work in the GLC as pastors, evangelists, district presidents and Bible school teachers,”⁹⁶ the work for which they were trained. Their presence as leaders of the Gutnius Lutheran Church when it celebrated the 50th anniversary of the entry of the Gospel into Enga-land indicates that this first effort at theological education did indeed provide people to continue in the work of the church as it grew. This first effort was not perfect or final. Rather, it was a start upon which continued building and development in theological education would take place. The next chapter moves into another stage of that building and development.

⁹⁵ Rev. Dr. Waesa Waima, a pastor in the GLC, received an honorary doctorate from Seminex.

⁹⁶ Newton, B.1.b, page 5. In Melanesian Pidgin: “Sampela bilong ol husat i bin graduet long Birip i wok yet long GLC olsem pasto, ivanselis, distrik presiden na Baibel Skul tisa.”

V. A Training Program in English: Martin Luther Seminary

A. Regional Developments Encourage a New Program

The development of theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church up to this point has focused primarily on what has happened among the Enga-speaking people. To be sure, there has been a great deal of influence from the outside in that the expatriate and coastal New Guinean missionaries have come, each bringing outside ideas in addition to the Gospel. Also, from the very beginning there was a great deal of cooperation between those involved in the work in this new area and the work which had developed in other areas from 1886 until 1948. Yet the work among the Enga people was essentially separate in that it focused on the needs of the Enga-speaking people.

However, even as the Birip School for Church Workers was beginning the process to “up-grade the theological and leadership level of the best evangelists and elders in each circuit” (Kopitske, above) a far more ambitious effort at upgrading theological education was coming to life. This effort was partly tied to political and economic developments in the South Pacific and southeast Asia after World War II. As the region developed, “there was no other choice for New Guinea than to catch up with other developing countries.”⁹⁷ With Australia as the closest world power and the country charged with the task of bringing the territories of New Guinea and Papua into the twentieth century, the influence of governmental and educational systems from Australia was practically a given. Thus when Papua New Guinea became an independent country in 1975, it had a parliamentary democracy as its government and English as its national language. “The planning and

⁹⁷ Helmut Horndash, “The Church and Its Ministry,” in *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The First Hundred Years 1886–1986*, ed. Herwig Wagner and Hermann Reiner (Adelaide, SA, Australia: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986), 401.

establishing of an English-language theological seminary also belongs in this context of change.”⁹⁸

The official discussions on initiating theological education in English were also held outside of the Enga area and came at about the same time that Birip School for Church Workers began.

At the 15th Field Conference of Lutheran Mission New Guinea in 1961, several resolutions were passed requesting the forming of “Higher Bible Schools” to pick up students for theological training after the completion of Standard VI. . . . A year later, the LMNG Conference recommended to the ELCONG Districts the beginning of an “English Pastors’ Course” as early as January 1963. Dr. G. O. Reitz was asked to “prepare a paper concerning ministerial training in English to be presented to the Districts and circulated amongst L.M. staff.”⁹⁹

Although we have not traced the development of theological education in the Lutheran work which began before World War II, the above reference to “Higher Bible Schools” indicates that certain training programs had developed in various areas of what was known as the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea (ELCONG). This concern to “pick up students for theological training after the completion of Standard VI” was in a sense similar to what was being done with the work at Birip, upgrading theological education to fit the needs of the communities in which the church was working. By 1960 the Lutheran church had been at work in many areas of New Guinea for several decades. Furthermore, outside influences from colonization, World War II and the Australian administration were much more a part of the lives of the people in the coastal areas than they were in the central highlands region inhabited by the Enga people. Thus the push for English theological education came from those areas. However, the cooperation between the various groups involved in Lutheran work in New Guinea provided an opportunity for the newly-emerging Enga Lutherans to be involved in this theological education project, which was at a more advanced level than they were.

“In June 1965, the Convention of the (then) Wabag Lutheran Church decided to be part of the English-language seminary, and from 1966 on supported MLS [Martin Luther

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Hermann Lutschewitz, “Training for the Ministry at Martin Luther Seminary,” within “The Church and its Ministry,” by Helmut Horndash, in *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The First Hundred Years 1886–1986*, ed. Herwig Wagner and Hermann Reiner (Adelaide, SA, Australia: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986), 404. Lutheran Mission New Guinea was the body which coordinated the work of the German, Australian, and American Lutheran missionaries in New Guinea

Seminary] through personnel and finances beyond its actual student proportion.”¹⁰⁰ It was a big step, especially in light of the fact that the Enga language theological education program at Birip had only been underway for five years. And yet with the rapid changes taking place, it seemed to be a good opportunity to be involved in a new program. Furthermore, this was part of an effort to bring together the Lutheran work which was developing in different areas of the emerging country. An article published by the Lutheran Churches of Australia, which merged in 1966,¹⁰¹ describes it this way: “Martin Luther Seminary, begun on February 6th, 1966, is a combined Seminary representing the three Lutheran Churches and Missions in New Guinea. In its very existence it contains the promise of one Lutheran Church in New Guinea in the future.”¹⁰²

B. Basics of Theological Education at Martin Luther Seminary

As changes were taking place in the South Pacific region, so too changes were taking place in the territories of Papua and New Guinea. Plans were being developed for “the first year of degree studies in the Papua—New Guinea University at Port Moresby in 1967.”¹⁰³ Furthermore, “in the 21 rapidly-growing towns of New Guinea in which Lutheran congregations are found, there are only five New Guinean pastors at work.”¹⁰⁴ To deal with these challenges and others which were sure to come, the theological education program that became known as Martin Luther Seminary was developed. The following summary of the situation was presented to the Lutheran Church of Australia in 1967:

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 406.

¹⁰¹ The date 1966 was found at <http://www.lca.org.au/aboutlutherans/history.html> on 1 August 2002.

¹⁰² Hartwig, 16. “The three Lutheran Churches and Missions in New Guinea” refers to the fact that the work done by the two Lutheran churches in Australia was separate up to this point (1966) and, including the LCMS, all three missions were involved in the development of MLS. After the Australian Lutheran Church merger the Siassi Lutheran Church (supported by the Australian Lutheran Mission of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia), the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea (supported by the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia and other European and American church bodies) and the Wabag Lutheran Church (supported by The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod) continued as separate entities for some time and are the “three Lutheran churches” indicated above. See Wagner and Reiner, 28–29.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 16–18.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

The seminary eventually hopes to enroll 30 new students each year. At present, 12 students are enrolled in the first class, eight from the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea, three from the Wabag Lutheran Church, and one from the Siassi Lutheran Church. These 12 students are being taught by three faculty members: Rev. J. Strelan, professor of Greek and English Bible; Mr. D. Gerber, professor of General Studies; and Dr. G. O. Reitz, Principal. Unlike the earlier pastor-training programmes in the various missions, all lectures are given in the English language.¹⁰⁵

The Martin Luther Seminary Handbook for 1995 provides a snapshot of what developed out of this beginning with 12 students and three faculty members:

MLS confers the Diploma of Theology, the Bachelor of Theology degree, and the Parish Worker's Certificate. In addition, a Certificate of Basic Studies in Theology is granted to those who successfully complete the first two years of seminary work, although students are not enrolled just to study for this certificate. A student's programme at MLS is organized according to the requirements of the degree, diploma or certificate which is pursued.

Students take courses in the areas of Bible, Doctrine, History, Ministry, and General Studies. . . .

The Diploma of Theology is the basic programme of the MLS curriculum. All students who prepare for the ministry at MLS earn the Diploma. It normally takes six years to earn the Diploma. The first two are spent in the Basic Studies Programme. The next four are spent in the Continuing Studies Programme, which includes one year of vicarage.¹⁰⁶

The above described program is accredited by the Melanesian Association of Theological Schools (MATS) which is made up of seminaries and theological colleges of various denominations in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands.¹⁰⁷ The Diploma of Theology program provides the core curriculum at MLS and "all students who prepare for the ministry at MLS earn the Diploma."¹⁰⁸ The Bachelor of Theology degree requires successful completion of Greek studies and the writing of a B.Th. paper and "is a recognized and accredited degree that is fundamental to any advanced studies in theology."¹⁰⁹

In addition to an increased level of theological education, Martin Luther Seminary has also provided a ready exchange with overseas institutions in the educational process. Professors from various theological educational institutions around the world, including

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 18. Mr. D. Gerber was sent to MLS by the LCMS/WLC as a faculty member.

¹⁰⁶ *Martin Luther Seminary Handbook, 1995* (Lae, Papua New Guinea: Martin Luther Seminary, 1995), 3.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 2.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 3.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 6-7.

Wartburg Seminary, Debuque, Iowa; Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri; and Concordia Seminary, Adelaide, Australia, have been invited to teach for a term or for a special program. At the same time, students from other countries have participated in an exchange program which has resulted in an international presence in theological education in Papua New Guinea Lutheranism. "For many years, students from St. Olaf College in the United States and from Germany have come to spend a term or more at Martin Luther Seminary. This is for their own education and cultural awareness. These students also contribute to the Seminary through service and by their friendship."¹¹⁰ This sharing of faculty and students has also resulted in an effort to introduce master's level studies in association with Wartburg Seminary (see section below on continuing education).

Since the first class graduated in 1971 there have been 260 students graduated from the programs. In 1994 forty students were enrolled with six more serving vicarages in the two Lutheran churches of Papua New Guinea.¹¹¹

If we look back to the previous chapter, which saw the Birip School for Church Workers being developed to serve the rapidly growing church among the Enga-speaking peoples, and compare it to what we have just seen in the development of Martin Luther Seminary, we find a marked contrast. To be sure, the picture at Birip in 1994 was not the same as we left it in the early 1960s, as we will see in the next chapter. However, even when adjusted for the 30-plus intervening years there is a definite difference of emphasis. The Birip School for Church Workers focused on training current evangelists and elders for the purpose of increasing their ability to serve the needs of the rapidly expanding church. As such, it worked in the local language with people of very limited literacy skills. It sought to serve the church at that time and in that place.

Martin Luther Seminary developed in a different world. Rather than looking at the current needs, it was looking to the future. What would be the needs of churches in the developing nation? In his "Report in Reference to Martin Luther Seminary" Arthur C. Repp was looking to the future when he wrote:

One of the major new phenomena, though still in its early stages, to be awaited in New Guinea is the growth of town life. While none of the major towns are large

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 10.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 1.

according to Western standards they are large in the eyes of the New Guinean who in his primitive state was not even acquainted with a village in the Western sense. The rapid growth centers like Port Moresby, Lae, Rabaul, and Madang are indications of things to come. They are good as centers of education, medicine, business, government, and the arts; evil as breeders of slums, delinquency, crime, and violence. When the towns in the Highlands begin to flex their muscles and new ones arise along the coast, New Guinea will become heir to all the good and evil that towns bring with them.¹¹²

His report indicated that MLS would need to take this future into account as it developed. This also meant that, rather than focusing on the local language and the limited literacy skills of the current day, MLS needed to look at the developing university system and the English language. English would become the declared national language and the common language of communication for this rapidly developing nation as it began interacting on an official level with the rest of the world. In association with other theological education institutions, MLS was part of the development of an accreditation process known as the Melanesian Association of Theological Schools, established to provide these theological educational institutions a standing within the international educational community. Most of this was not really a part of the picture of life back in the Enga valleys.

C. Mixed Results

As noted above, theological education in English on a level similar to that of university training seemed to be a logical next step if the education of those who proclaimed the Gospel was to keep up with what was happening in the country. This seemed especially true in the coastal areas, although it was a larger step for the Enga speakers in the rugged central highlands who had known of Jesus Christ for less than 20 years when MLS began. Started and supported by missionaries, local Christians and overseas partners, the work of Martin Luther Seminary has continued until today. The results seem to be mixed, with some successes and some things that did not work out as well as expected.

¹¹² Repp, 8.

On the success side, graduates of Martin Luther Seminary have found their way into leadership positions in both the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea and the Gutnius Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea. They have served as chaplains in high schools, hospitals, and in the military. They have served as religious instruction teachers in community schools and high schools. They have become teachers in Bible schools and seminaries, including Martin Luther Seminary itself. They have served in various church administrative roles, including as District or Region Bishops and advisors, and as national Bishops in both churches and in international capacities, often related to the Lutheran World Federation or to partner church relationships.

Even though it was a major step from the pre-literate Enga valleys to the university level English educational program, the Gutnius Lutheran Church seems to have also recognized the importance of what MLS has provided in the way of theological education. One example can be seen in the effort to end a long political struggle in the Gutnius Lutheran Church. After two groups claimed the leadership positions of the GLC for about six years, a joint national conference was held in 1994 by the two major factions. Several candidates were nominated for Bishop. Although two of the candidates had been involved in church leadership positions for longer periods, the two candidates who drew the most votes were both MLS graduates. The other candidates could have provided strong leadership for the struggling church. However, the people seemed to sense the need for someone trained at a level beyond what could be provided locally, and with skills in English, to be the national leader of the Gutnius Lutheran Church.

At the same time there seems to be a significant question about the role which MLS graduates play in the Gutnius Lutheran Church. Writing in 1982, Spruth notes:

The GLC has some problems with all of these men the church has sent to Martin Luther Seminary. Many of them want to go to another kind of work or another training program after they have attended this seminary for two or three years. Only six of them have completed the program. Out of these, Pastor Manios Yakasa is working in the Saka Raikama Circuit, Pastor David Piso is a chaplain in the PNG

Army and Pastor Tom Amu is a chaplain at Wabag High School and works with the Wakumari congregation.¹¹³

There are many different reasons for these difficulties. One seems to center on the kind of people sent to MLS as students. As noted above, the students who were initially sent to Birip School for Church Workers were men who had a proven track record in the work of the church. They had been involved in Gospel proclamation in various ways before being chosen by their people to get further training. However, those who were sent to MLS came from a completely different background. As the discussions took place, one of the reasons for developing the program was “the forming of ‘Higher Bible Schools’ to pick up students for theological training after the completion of Standard VI.”¹¹⁴ In the public education setting, developed by the Australian administration, Standard VI would have been the equivalent of the sixth grade. Since that time the entrance requirement for MLS has been increased to grade 10, which is equivalent to being a high school sophomore in the school system in the United States. It is also the end of high school education for many Papua New Guineans, as grades 11 and 12 are offered only at a few national high schools. The entrance requirement for MLS has set aside the requirement of a proven track record as a committed “evangelist” (in whatever capacity that might have been) in favor of higher academic standards.

Obviously this is only part of the story. As indicated by the 1995 MLS handbook, the students are not taken in without any regard for their spiritual background.

Martin Luther Seminary seeks students to study for the Diploma of Theology or Bachelor of Theology who 1) desire to serve the church as pastors, 2) are academically qualified, 3) are active participants in their congregation’s life, 4) have aptitude for ministry, and 5) have been out of the 10th grade at least two years. We seek students with similar qualifications to study for the Parish Worker’s Certificate.¹¹⁵

Yet even with these qualifications and a letter of recommendation from the congregation or circuit, there is still a difference between these students and those who

¹¹³ Spruth, *Tok Bilong God Ran i Go*, 75. In Melanesian Pidgin: “GLC i gat sampela hevi long ol dispela man Sios i bin salim long Matin Luta Semineri. Sampela planti ol i laik go long narapela trening taim ol i stap tu no tri yia long Semineri. 6-pela tasol i bin pinisim skul. Long dispela lain, Pasto Maniosa Yakasa em i wok long Saka Raiakama sirket, Pasto David Piso em i stap seplen long Ami bilong PNG na Pasto Tom Amu em i holim wok seplen long Wabag Hai Skul na wok wantaim Wakumare kongrigesen.”

¹¹⁴ Lutschewitz, 404.

¹¹⁵ *Martin Luther Seminary Handbook*, 1995, 17–18.

have been in the midst of the spiritual battle and have then chosen or accepted further education to enhance their ability to perform the task in which they have already been involved. In a sense, it is a shift of emphasis from the practical enabling of those already in ministry to the academic preparation of those who, although they have an intention to become involved in ministry, have not yet been significantly involved.

Another difficulty which has been identified as a cause for the limited continued involvement of MLS graduates in ministry in the church is economic in nature. In an interview, Dr. Willard Burce pointed out that if a “young man successful in high school [is looking at] tertiary options, why should he go into a position where no one will even guarantee him ten bucks a month?”¹¹⁶ Becoming a Lutheran pastor in Papua New Guinea is significantly less prestigious and less economically rewarding than it is in the United States. When the course of studies is completed, the graduate, if called to congregational ministry in the Gutnius Lutheran Church, is often expected to return to a somewhat remote location, to live in a grass-roofed house and to resume subsistence farming as the major means of support for himself and his family. This is in contrast to work found by graduates of teachers colleges who go on to be government employees, are usually provided a house, are part of a nationwide network of teachers and receive a nationally set wage equivalent to three to five hundred dollars a month. At times congregations even refuse to accept MLS graduates as their pastors because they know that they are not able to meet the social and economic needs and expectations of those who are trained at that level. Although the vision of a need for more educated church leaders was accepted when the Wabag Lutheran Church became part of the work at Martin Luther Seminary, the church has not yet been able to provide the level of support necessary for those who graduate from a theological education institution of that caliber.

Another observation relevant to the mixed results of those who have been trained at MLS has to do with the style of leadership in the Enga culture and thus in the Gutnius Lutheran Church. In 1984 the church almost split after a disagreement as to who should be the Head Bishop for the next four years. In 1986 there was an effort to remove the Bishop who had been elected in 1984. In 1988, when the same Bishop was re-elected, a sizable

¹¹⁶ Willard Burce, taped interview with the author, 2001.

portion of the GLC National Conference left, claiming that it was the true Gutnius Lutheran Church. A six-year political battle ensued. In reflecting on this and on the general leadership style found among the Enga people as related to the work of Martin Luther Seminary, Dr. Burce observed,

In the GLC, a large amount of the trouble has to do with the traditional Enga leadership idea that if you are a leader you have to stay a leader and fight every possible way against anyone intruding on your leadership position—stave it off, fight it off, to heck with the program—that is a big part of it.¹¹⁷

As has been noted, those who go to MLS are trained at a higher level than any others in the Gutnius Lutheran Church. They have come to expect to be part of church leadership and church members expect this also. Yet the leadership style most prevalent among the Enga seems to be a “king of the hill” approach. Once a man gets to the top, much of his energy is expended preventing others from challenging his position, and one way of doing that is to limit those who have the background and abilities needed to challenge him in that role. In other words, the top leader would seek to remove them from office, change the requirements to get an advanced position or in some way discredit them so that they would not be able to challenge him. It should be noted that this behavior is not only associated with the one in power. The complementary part of the system is that those who are not at the top make it their purpose in life to knock the legs out from under the one who is at the top. Thus the “government and opposition” mentality which pervades the political process is also at work in the church. Rather than fighting for a position in the church in such a way, it is often easier and more rewarding to become involved in real government work where the rewards are greater, or in business where there are more opportunities to get a position of power or authority.

A final observation related to the mixed results of theological education at the level which MLS provides has to do with how well the graduates are accepted by the members of the church. This is partially a missionary versus national issue which will probably only be resolved over time. The difficulty is this: If there is discussion or debate over an issue, it is often the opinion or position of the missionary which is accepted over and against that of the MLS graduate. Although the MLS graduate may have a better understanding of the

¹¹⁷ Burce interview.

cultural issues and adequate theological knowledge of what is involved, he is still seen as “one of us” where as the missionary is seen as an outside “expert.” Therefore it seems more expedient to accept the position of the expert who was involved in bringing the Gospel to Papua New Guinea in the first place. An MLS graduate once remarked to me, “I have to work much harder than you to make the same point and then am often overlooked in favor of what you say.”

Looking back at what has happened in the thirty-two years since the beginning of Martin Luther Seminary, it seems that the effort to look to the future needs of the church was an important step. Yet it is a step that is not yet completed. The theological education that has developed at MLS has provided the Lutheran church in Papua New Guinea with some benefits which are necessary for the church to meet the continuing challenges of training people to proclaim the Gospel in the fast-changing yet very tribal society, which is Papua New Guinea at the end of the twentieth century. It has become a part of the theological education program of the Gutnius Lutheran Church and has an important role to play as the educational level of the people of the Gutnius Lutheran Church continues to increase. As we will see in the subsequent chapters, it was not and is not the only way of meeting the needs of the Gutnius Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea. Already in 1968 Repp pointed out in his report that this would be true for a number of years to come.¹¹⁸ However, Martin Luther Seminary is part of the whole picture.

¹¹⁸ Repp, 25.

VI. Birip School for Church Workers Transitions to Timothy Lutheran Seminary

The changes related to the development of Martin Luther Seminary, as pointed out in the above chapter, were a giant leap for the Lutheran Christians of the Enga valleys toward being part of the worldwide Lutheran community. However, they were not the only changes taking place. Back in the central highlands, the influx of the Australian administration, missionaries of various denominations along with the educational programs they brought, and different business ventures were all part of the forces that were changing the lives of the people and affecting local theological education. Yet for the Lutheran church there was an effort to keep the Good News central in all activities. The picture is summarized well in the following paragraph:

From the beginning it was recognized that there was to be only one purpose in all that the church was to do in New Guinea—bring the Gospel of Jesus Christ, Savior and Lord, to the Enga people in order that by God's grace as many individuals as possible might be saved for eternity and a healthy Christian church be established among the New Guinea people. In this latter is implied the necessity of encouraging the development of the type of church that makes energetic use of the means of grace, exercises Christian discipline within itself, trains and supports its own church workers, and carries on and supports a vigorous mission program. Besides the simple preaching and teaching of the Word this would also involve activities which would allow the Word to be expressed through action. Thus education, medical help, agricultural assistance, literature work, literacy training, business enterprises, and other activities would all serve a very good purpose in glorifying the crucified and risen Christ and through Him the Father in heaven.¹¹⁹

The phrase “in order that by God's grace as many individuals as possible might be saved for eternity” was, in a sense, a continuation of what had been happening—the church expanding into new areas as more and more people expressed an interest in hearing about this new faith. By 1964 work had begun in the Duna-speaking area of Lake Kapiago. The work of proclaiming the Good News was moving out of the Enga language group into new areas. Moving into new areas required more workers, dealing with other languages and an ever-increasing understanding of the whole story of Christianity,

¹¹⁹ *The First Fifteen Years*, 8.

including that of Christian denominations. The initial Christian work among the Enga people involved Roman Catholics, Seventh Day Adventists and Lutherans. Shortly after that, the Baptists became part of the picture. As the work expanded, "Other missions also had the idea to go to these new areas. . . . There were many different big missions and churches which were in competition to bring the Gospel to the various small groups of people. There were not all that many new places to go in Papua New Guinea."¹²⁰ Thus, during the 1960s and early 1970s, while Martin Luther Seminary was being developed, the skills and background needed for proclaiming the Gospel were also changing in the Enga valleys.

There were no doubt little changes that took place at the Birip school on a regular basis, which were part of the process of keeping up with the changes in the Enga valleys. However, there are a couple of broad strokes which seem to be the most significant in the change from Birip School for Church Workers to Timothy Lutheran Seminary.

As noted above the Birip School for Church Workers was started in 1960 out of a need to improve the knowledge and understanding of those who already were serving as evangelists. Part of this need was caused by the continuing expansion of the church; the best workers were being sent out to new areas, leaving those less skilled in charge of congregations and in need of further training. Although there seems to be some controversy over how much the first program focused on "pastor training," there is evidence that both pastor training and other theological education such as elder training and Sunday school teacher training went on at the same time. The following paragraph is found in the introduction to the *Studen Hanbuk Bilong TLS, 1993* and provides a good summary of the changes that took place:

In the year 1960 the Wabag Lutheran Church started Timothy Lutheran Seminary, and beginning at that time until now many different kinds of work have been done at TLS. Different kinds of church workers received training at TLS: pastors, Sunday school teachers, evangelists and elders. However, starting in 1973 work at TLS focused directly on training pastors only. In 1977 the first new group of

¹²⁰ Spruth, *Tok Bilong God Ran i Go*, 63. In Melanesian Pidgin: "Sampela arapela misin tu i bin ting long go long dispela nupela wok. . . . I gat bikpela lain misin na sios i resis bilong bringim Gutnius long wanpela liklik lain manmeri. I no gat planti moa nupela ples i stap long Papua Niugini."

pastors graduated from the Pidgin course. Their names are listed at the end of this book.¹²¹

Although a detailed curriculum for each program has not been found, there were materials stored in the TLS library which were obviously designed for the training of congregational elders. No one teaching at TLS in the late 1980s had used them, indicating that they were part of a bygone era, perhaps only short courses; but there was evidence of significant effort in that large pictures and charts had been made for presentation purposes.

Within the church in the late 1980s there were also workers serving at different levels who had attended Birip School for Church Workers. Some were identified as ordained pastors and had been part of that first class which started in 1960. Others who had attended Birip School for Church Workers were also serving in congregations in pastoral or evangelist positions but were not identified as “ordained” in the same way as the first group. *Lapun Pasto* Dingi (Old Pastor Dingi) was one of those at work in the Wapenamanda area from 1986 to 1988. Although not considered an ordained pastor of the GLC, he performed most duties of the pastoral ministry, and had at some time attended Birip School for Church Workers for a number of years. Others talked of attending special courses for teaching Sunday school or youth leadership at Birip. Thus the early work of the school in providing training at various levels in response to the needs of the church was still affecting the work of the GLC in the late 1980s.

Yet change was taking place. As previously noted, by 1964 work was being done outside of the Enga language group in the Duna-speaking area of Kopiago. From Maramuni and Mulitaka, the work spilled over into the Nete-speaking area, and later into the Penale-speaking area. From Mulitaka it spilled over into the Ipili-speaking area of Porgera. From Porgera and Kopiago it expanded into the Hewa-speaking area. From the

¹²¹ *Studen Hanbuk Bilong TLS, 1993* (Student handbook of Timothy Lutheran Seminary, 1993), (Birip, Enga Province, Papua New Guinea: Timothy Lutheran Seminary, 1993), 2. In Melanesian Pidgin: “Long yia 1960 Wabag Luteran Sios i bin kirapim Timoti Luteran Semineri na stat long dispela taim i kam inap nau kainkain wok i bin kamap long TLS. Kainkain wokman bilong sios i bin kisim trening long TLS—pasto, Sande skul tisa, ivanselis na hetman. Tasol stat long 1973 wok bilong TLS i bin i sut stret long skulim ol pasto tasol. Long 1977 nambawan nupela lain pasto i bin greduet long pisin kos. Yu inap lukim nem bilong ol man i bin pinisim pisin kos long baksait bilong dispela buk.” It should be noted that the name Timothy Lutheran Seminary has been used to identify the institution at this point even though it was initially named Birip School for Church Workers.

Saka and Kandep areas the work moved into various adjacent language groups in the Tambul, Mendi and Tari areas. What this meant for theological education and for Birip School for Church Workers was a need for training in more than the Enga language. Although throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s the Enga evangelists provided the bulk of the manpower for the new work, it was not long before the Duna-speakers of Kopiago, the Nete-speakers of the Lyaimi and the Ipili-speakers of Porgera and Paiela were involved in proclaiming the Gospel to their own people and a need for training beyond repeating the Bible stories and catechism materials developed.

As was noted above, by 1973 it was decided that the Enga-only program of Birip School for Church Workers was no longer adequate. Yet the English programs of Martin Luther Seminary were not really helpful, for there were still many areas where there was no government-sponsored primary education and thus no one spoke English. However, as government control expanded into these areas, there was a lingua franca in the developing Melanesian Pidgin language which Rev. Francis Mihalic, S.V.D. describes in this way:

Having been derived historically from English, it naturally carries along much of the English influence in its grammatical framework. But it is not broken English. Over the course of a century it has developed its own features, as any living language does, from the speech patterns that surround it. That explains the strong Melanesian flavour of its syntax.¹²²

Although using Pidgin was not the same as using the local language, it proved to be a workable solution to the problem of working with various languages for both the government and the churches as they expanded into new areas and worked in many different language areas. Since its first printing in 1966, the Pidgin New Testament has been printed several times and a Lutheran worship book in Pidgin also has been printed several times since 1963.¹²³ Furthermore, the Pidgin language was being used at Senior Flierl Seminary located at Logaweng (on the coast near Finschhafen) and at Lutheran Highlands Seminary located at Ogelbeng (near Mt. Hagen). Thus, moving from an Enga-

¹²² F. Mihalic, *The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin* (Hong Kong: The Jacaranda Press, 1983), 10.

¹²³ J. Sievert, *Lotu Buk* (Church service book in New Guinea Pidgin), (Madang, Papua New Guinea: Kristen Pres, 1963; Reprint, 1984) and *Nupela Testamen bilong Bikpela Jisas Kraus; Buk bilong ol Sam* (The New Testament and Psalms in Papua New Guinea Pidgin), (Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea: The Bible Society of Papua New Guinea, 1978; reprinted, 1985). (The first edition was printed in 1966.)

language-only school to a program which would use both Enga and Pidgin in the training of church workers seemed to be the way to deal with the expansion that was taking the Gospel outside of the Enga valleys.

The first Pidgin course graduating class (1977) included Timothy Pape from Kopiago, and the second class (1978) included Neketomas Aiyane and John Hulip, also from Kopiago.¹²⁴ All three of these men were Duna language speakers and the first non-Enga speakers to graduate from TLS. Timothy and John have served as Bible school teachers for the Region Five Bible School and Neketomas has served as Bishop for Region Five from the time of his election while he was a vicar until today. He is also serving as the Deputy Bishop of the Gutnius Lutheran Church. In 1992 Ken Waki graduated from TLS as the first Hewa-speaker to be trained as a Lutheran pastor.¹²⁵ In 1998 Pol Kii graduated from TLS as the first Nete-speaker to be trained as a Lutheran pastor.¹²⁶ Thus the change from an Enga-only theological education program was made in response to the needs of the church. While it was not possible to provide training in the local languages for all of those among whom the GLC was serving, the Pidgin program met them partway down the path by using a second language which was already in use in these areas.

The second “broad stroke” of significant change during the transition to Timothy Lutheran Seminary came as a result of the need to keep up with the changing cultural and educational settings of the places in which the church was working. As previously noted,

Besides the simple preaching and teaching of the Word this [the establishment of a healthy Christian church] would also involve activities which would allow the Word to be expressed through action. Thus education, medical help, agricultural assistance, literature work, literacy training, business enterprises, and other activities would all serve a very good purpose in glorifying the crucified and risen Christ and through Him the Father in heaven.¹²⁷

Expressing the Word “through action” required various kinds of education, and that education in turn affected what was required of theological education. Basic education had been part of the work of the Lutheran mission since 1948, with coastal teachers as a part of

¹²⁴ *Studen Hanbuk Bilong TLS*, 1993, 10.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹²⁶ He is on the Year 4 Student List from the author’s class records.

¹²⁷ *The First Fifteen Years*, 8.

the original group of Lutherans that came over the mountains from Ogelbeng. As the Gospel spread, so did the work of education.

By 1957 the need was felt to expand the education program vigorously. Local teachers were needed for growth. Sixty young men were chosen to attend a 10-week teacher training program. Later these teachers returned to their villages and became the foundation on which congregations started their own Exempt Schools ('exempt' because the government exempts them from certain standards, permitting their existence because of their valuable contribution to general literacy). There are now 176 Enga teachers at this level. They are invaluable to the work of the education program as they teach the Word of God, Enga reading and writing, health, and simple arithmetic to more than 3,500 boys and girls.¹²⁸

As more and more people became educated, theological education needed to keep pace with the changes the people were experiencing. In addition to memorizing the Bible stories and the catechism, leaders needed to be prepared to deal with new questions which were arising as people became more aware of the world in which they lived. Questions like: How do we apply the Gospel in the changing lives of the people? How do we help people make sense of what is going on around them from a Biblical perspective? How do we help people understand the various teachings of other Christian and non-Christian (Jehovah's Witness) denominations which are coming in with the other missions? How do we deal with the development of the cargo cult, which mixes some of the ideas of the Christian faith with unknown ways of obtaining the goods which people see coming with the outsiders? How do we deal with local aberrations of Biblical interpretation which are developing among our people? Obviously missionaries were concerned about these things and sought to guide pastors and evangelists in their areas on these issues. But as the church grew and the educational level of the people, especially the young people, increased, it was no longer adequate to get answers from the missionary. Not only was he often not available at the time the answer was needed, but he might not really understand all of the issues involved in the question because he was an outsider. Thus improving the educational level of church leaders trained locally was an important step to take.

The effort to keep up with these changes saw Birip School for Church Workers become Timothy Lutheran Seminary. Although some former missionaries question whether or not it was done in the best possible way, Timothy Lutheran Seminary took on

¹²⁸ Ibid., 12.

characteristics of the theological education model common in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s.¹²⁹ As Karl Reko noted of his experience at TLS, “The seminary gave them rudimentary skills in Biblical interpretation from a Western perspective as well as a broader acquaintance with the world beyond PNG. . . . The faculty developed the courses working off of their own seminary training. We often wrote our own texts or translated a work we felt was particularly relevant.”¹³⁰ The program developed into two years on campus, a vicarage and a final year back on campus. Studies in practical theology often included worship, teaching, and preaching; systematic theology often included a detailed study of Luther’s Small Catechism, *Tok Bilip Bilong Yumi*,¹³¹ Baptism and Communion; exegetical theology often included selected books of the Bible from both Old and New Testaments, although there was more of an emphasis on the New Testament than the Old; and historical theology often included some work on general church history, the Reformation and the history of the Lutheran church in Papua New Guinea. In addition, there were general studies courses included such as reading, writing, health, math and social studies. The courses were adjusted to fit the literacy and academic capabilities of the

¹²⁹ Karl Reko, who taught at Birip School for Church Workers as the focus was narrowing, noted: “I always felt that the faculty was not cognizant of the factors on the basis of which an individual was chosen to be the spiritual leader of a community nor the skills that person used to be effective. If that is right, we were not sure if the curriculum was as relevant to the clergy calling as it could have been” (Reko survey response). Willard Burce, who was involved in establishing Birip School for Church Workers but was transferred to Lae in 1967 to be a part of the MLS faculty, has noted in conversations that there was a movement during the period to train only pastors and call it a seminary, which short-circuited the other training programs originally intended at Birip School for Church Workers (conversations with Bill Burce regarding TLS). Karl Stotik who was an evangelistic missionary and was involved in various Theological Education by Extension efforts over the years, remarked in the survey response, “In my opinion, expatriates functioned on a level that assumed their form of ministry and theological education was the way to go . . . perhaps making New Guinean copies of themselves. This is a complex and threatening subject—but worthwhile thinking about.”

¹³⁰ Reko survey response.

¹³¹ The Committee on Theology and Inter-Church Relations of The Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea, The Wabag Lutheran Church, The Siassi Lutheran Church, Lutheran Mission New Guinea, New Guinea Lutheran Mission—Missouri Synod, Australian Lutheran Mission, *Tok Bilip Bilong Yumi* (A Statement of Faith), (Madang, Papua New Guinea: Kristen Pres, 1972).

During the 1960s as the Lutheran churches in Australia were moving toward becoming one church, there was also a movement in PNG among the various missions and churches to seek unity. A committee of missionaries and Papua New Guineans was formed which eventually became the Committee on Theology and Inter-Church Relations. The result of their work is a statement of faith which brought the different Lutheran churches in PNG together in altar and pulpit fellowship and which is still the basis of unity of the Lutheran churches in PNG today.

students, and Greek and Hebrew were not part of the exegetical studies. Some textbooks were written by instructors at TLS while others were obtained from other institutions, both Lutheran and of other denominations, which taught in Melanesian Pidgin at the same level. Much of the focus seemed to be directed at providing the pastors of the congregations and circuits with as much basic theological understanding as possible within the confines of time, academic abilities and cultural setting.

Interestingly enough, at the same time that the need for increased academic standards was moving the program at TLS in one direction, the continued expansion of the church into less developed areas and the need to maintain a cultural level appropriate to the places where the students would work as pastors pulled the program in the opposite direction. In the discussion of Martin Luther Seminary, it was noted that a Melanesian Association of Theological Schools was developed to oversee standards of theological education in Melanesia. Timothy Lutheran Seminary has been a long-time associate member, paying the necessary fees and participating in discussions. However, while other institutions which operate in Melanesian Pidgin have attained accreditation on the lowest level offered by MATS, Timothy Lutheran Seminary has not yet made that transition. Although the limited library resources and the limited education level of the national faculty have presented some challenges in this area, one of the main challenges has been that the incoming students at TLS usually do not meet the level required for the seminary to be accredited. This is because TLS continues to draw a high number of its students from those areas which are less developed and thus do not have schools. Although the entrance requirement is that the students need to know how to read and write Melanesian Pidgin, they are not required to have completed Standard VI in the government school system. In 1998 the TLS faculty was still wrestling with how to proceed with the challenge of meeting the needs of an increasingly educated church while continuing to work with those from the more remote areas.

The results of the work of Timothy Lutheran Seminary were obvious throughout the Gutnius Lutheran Church as the 50th anniversary was celebrated. The majority of pastors at all levels of the church were graduates of Timothy Lutheran Seminary. The

following paragraph from a letter responding to a request for information on pastors at work in the GLC provides a good summary:

A couple of years ago we did an analysis of how many TLS graduates were still working as pastors and we came up with about 62%. I think that number is still fairly accurate. In fact it may be a little higher at present as it seems that the past couple of graduating classes have a high number working as pastors.¹³²

From 1977 until 1998 over 130 students graduated from the Pidgin-speaking program at Timothy Lutheran Seminary. Although there seems to have been an intention to continue an Enga-speaking program, all indications are that it ended when the Pidgin-speaking program began. In addition to the graduates from Timothy Lutheran Seminary, there have usually been a few students (three or four each year) who have graduated from one of the two Pidgin-speaking seminaries operated by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea, resulting in a few more pastors trained at this level. Since the mid-1980s there has also been an effort to have a couple of ELC—PNG students at Timothy Lutheran Seminary.

At the end of the first fifty years of Lutheran work among the Enga people, and during the subsequent movement into surrounding language groups, the theological education program which began as Birip School for Church Workers and transitioned to Timothy Lutheran Seminary has provided the training for the majority of pastors at work in the Gutnius Lutheran Church. While it is by no means the only way in which the training could have been done, it seems to be the way which has received the most support and has clearly provided a significant service for the church. Some former missionaries have questioned whether or not this was the most culturally appropriate way of providing theological education for this church. Others who study the viability of residential education programs also have views as to whether or not things could have or should have been done differently. However, when all is said and done, the fact remains that in 1948 there were no Lutheran Christians or Lutheran church workers among the Enga people, and in 1998 there were over 80,000 Lutheran Christians, some 400 congregations and over

¹³² "Brief Report on Seminary Graduates Working in the GLC." Fax from John Eggert, Deputy Principal, to Pastor Paul Sempf, Lutheran Highlands Seminary, 15 April 1996. Unpublished.

150 pastors, plus evangelists with various levels of theological training. This indicates a certain degree of progress toward the early goal that

by God's grace as many individuals as possible might be saved for eternity and a healthy Christian church be established among the New Guinea people. In this latter is implied the necessity of encouraging the development of the type of church that makes energetic use of the means of grace, exercises Christian discipline within itself, trains and supports its own church workers, and carries on and supports a vigorous mission program.¹³³

Timothy Lutheran Seminary has been a part of the progress toward that goal. Furthermore, as the second fifty years begins, it seems that although additional changes may need to be made to continue adapting to the changing situation, nevertheless TLS will have a role in the future of theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church.

¹³³ *The First Fifteen Years*, 8.

VII. The Development of Bible Schools

A. Ongoing Evangelist Training

In one sense, looking at the development of evangelist training at this point in the process of considering theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church seems a bit odd. The previous chapters show that evangelists were hard at work in the growth of the Lutheran church among the Enga people from the earliest days. The following paragraph by Spruth provides a picture that indicates the significant work of evangelists early on in the process of planting the church among the Enga people.

From the beginning, the Christians were organized into congregational groups with their own elders and evangelists. Some of the elders were responsible for preaching, teaching, and administering the sacraments. The evangelists would preach and teach only. Many of them were sent out by the congregations to plant new Churches in the Enga area. Missionaries met regularly with elders and evangelists to help them in their preaching and teaching, giving them some leadership training.¹³⁴

Education for evangelists in these early stages was done as required and as time and opportunity allowed. Former missionary Harley Kopitske described it in this way: “There were catechumen classes; elder classes; evangelist classes; helper training classes. *Exempt skul tisa* [school teacher] training classes had Christian doctrine included; circuit training *skuls* for prospective Birip enrollees had lots of doctrine.”¹³⁵ Adding to Kopitske’s description, former missionary Ron Rall notes that “primary theological education was done at the circuit level where missionaries and other national leaders instructed lay evangelists so they, in turn, could teach their own people. This was an ongoing process, without any real graduation. Theological questions were constantly being raised, evaluated, discussed and resolved.”¹³⁶ In summary, early evangelist training was done in

¹³⁴ Erwin L. Spruth, “The Mission of God in the Wabag Area of New Guinea: A Preliminary Study of Church Growth Among the Enga and Ipili Peoples,” (Master’s thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, April 1970), 144.

¹³⁵ Kopitske survey response.

¹³⁶ Rall survey response.

many and various ways, both formally in specified courses and informally in meetings and gatherings as theological issues were discussed.

Tied in with this process was a weekly meeting of evangelists to get the message for the Sunday service. Although this practice started out mainly around the areas where missionaries were stationed, it continued after the missionaries left. Each week the evangelists and pastors at work in a circuit would gather together to discuss the readings for the coming Sunday in an effort to help one another in the preparation for preaching and leading the services. This process was still happening in 1986 in the Yaramanda circuit whether a missionary was present or not. Indeed, as Rall described it, this was an “ongoing process” and certainly has to be considered part of the evangelist training process in the Gutnius Lutheran Church.

Although evangelists have received training from the earliest days, a compelling reason for considering evangelist training at this point in the study is related to the continuing use of evangelists and a “re-development” of evangelist training in the late 1970s. This was tied to the need that has been evident all along in the development of theological education in the GLC: the need for workers to proclaim the Gospel in communities that were asking for the church to come into their midst and the need for continued proclamation of the Gospel in congregations which had already been established. The survey included the questions: “How were regional Bible Schools started? Who wanted them? How did it get done?” The following responses provide a good picture of the situation at the time. Pastor Ron Rall, the Region Five missionary (located at Yuyane, near Porgera), is credited with starting the first one. Pastor Marcus Felde (located at Lake Kopiago, also in Region Five, at the same time) notes:

[Rall] formalized, organized, and intensified what we were already doing in the circuits: set up houses for the students to sleep in, planted gardens, put together a simple curriculum, standards for admission, etc. [He] listened to circuit leaders. . . . We in the circuits felt the need for better trained workers could not be satisfied by *Timoti Seminari*. We needed too many, and had not the leisure to wait for them to be trained for four years.¹³⁷

In response to the same questions Rall points to the same need:

Our Bible School began to fill a void. Most of our young men could not pass the tests to get into Birip, but we needed new evangelists for new work opening up in the

¹³⁷ Felde survey response.

Hewa, Penale and other parts of our region. It was our Region 5 leaders, including the Bishop who agreed to start the school. . . . The first one started in Region 5 and was held at Yuyane in the Porgera area. I believe the first year would have been about 1977. The school was at Yuyane for 2 years, then moved to Kopiago.¹³⁸

Thus, in 1977 the missionaries and national church leaders responded to the need for additional workers, and for additional training for workers already in place, by starting a somewhat formal Bible School program. It was not done to compete with the theological training which was already being done at Timothy Lutheran Seminary and Martin Luther Seminary, but rather to fill the need that those programs were not able to handle.

By 1979 Bible Schools had been established at Papayuku (Region Three of the Gutnius Lutheran Church) and Kandep (Region Four of the Gutnius Lutheran Church). The Region Missionaries, (Pastor David Birner at Papayuku and Pastor Gary Teske at Kandep) and the Region Bishops (Bishop Reo Raku of Region Three and Bishop Philipo Paiakali of Region Four) worked with the congregations in their respective areas to develop a program which fit the needs at that time.

National pastors were involved in the work at the Bible Schools from the beginning. The housing, classrooms and food supply was similar to what the students would have had at home, which helped to limit costs and kept the students in contact with their own cultural setting. The students at individual Bible Schools usually ranged in number from ten to twenty. In response to the question, "Who chose the students and how were they chosen?" Pastor Timothy Pape, who has been teaching at the Kopiago Bible School since 1985 writes:

The circuits and congregations send the students to a Bible School because they are short of workmen. They also send men so they can get good understanding of God's Word and teach the members of the congregations. Men who can read and write, who are confirmed members of the church, who live a good life and help the congregation in its work are sent to the Bible School.¹³⁹

A picture of what this looked like from the student perspective is provided by Pastor Moses Kombe, who became the headmaster at Papayuku Bible School in 2001:

¹³⁸ Rall survey response.

¹³⁹ Timothy Pape survey response. He is a pastor of the GLC. In Melanesian Pidgin: "Ol seket na kongrigesen salim ol kam long Baibel Skul long wanem ol sot long wokman na tu ol ken kisim gutpela save long tok bilong God na lainim mipela olsem na ol salim man i kam long skul. Man i save gut long ritrait na tu em save kaikai komunion na mekim gutpela pasin. Helpim kongrigesen long mekim wok kain man olsem ol salim kam long Baibel Skul."

When I was still a young man I went with my father who was an elder in the congregation. At this time Pastor Gary Teske was the missionary at Kandep. Then I went to Bible School. I became the Youth Coordinator of the Marianda Circuit in the Kandep District [Region Four]. I did that until 1979 when I went to Bible School again. Before Pastor Gary Teske and Pastor Kambu had been my teachers. After 1979 Pastor Fred Lap [Rengsdorf] was the teacher and this time I passed the test and I went to Timothy Seminary at Birip in 1982. At Birip the teachers were Jerry Burce, Andalo Wangim, Dani Kopa, Paul Jentz and others.¹⁴⁰

As noted above the programs at the Bible Schools were developed in response to the needs of the area in which the school was located. All of the Bible Schools operated with Melanesian Pidgin as the common language. Rall writes, "Courses were developed based on what skills were needed for the work of an evangelist. The style was informal, lots of discussion, few tests. There were really very few text books beside the Pidgin New Testament."¹⁴¹ As time moved on, the number of Bible Schools declined with Regions One and Two combining their resources to strengthen the Bible School located at Yaramanda and Regions Three and Four doing the same at Papayuku. Region Five continued to operate a Bible School independently because of the limited educational background of many of the students from the more remote areas.

The development of the Bible Schools was a "grassroots effort" and support came from the various groups which were involved in the start-up. As Rall notes, "Some of the support came from overseas, some from local help and there was a little tuition. Gardens were planted so the students could provide for most of their own food needs."¹⁴² In 1987, ten years after the first Bible School was started the bulk of the funding continued to come out of the Region budgets. A portion of the total amount of money sent to the Region from the Head Office of the GLC (most of which was provided from overseas at this time) was designated by the Region as the funding for the Bible School.

¹⁴⁰ Moses Kombe survey response. [Note: There seems to be a bit of a mix-up with the years in this paragraph—a very common thing among Enga pastors and evangelists.] In Melanesian Pidgin: "Taim mi yangpela yet mi bin go wantaim papa bilong mi i bin i stap hetman long kongrigesen taim pastor Gery Teski i bin i stap misineri long Kandep. Mi bin i go long Baibel Skul. Na bihain mi i stap youth Koridinator long Marianda Soket long Kandep Distrik. Orait mi i stap i go inap long yia 1979 mi bin i go ken long Baibel Skul. Orait bipo Pastor Gery Teski na Pastor Kambu tupela i stap tisa bilong mi. Bihain long yia 1979 Pr. Pret Lap i stap Tisa long dispela taim mi winim tes, na mi i go long Timoti Seminari long Birip long yia 1982. Long Birip ol Tisa i stap olsem, Jerry Buc, Andalo Wangim, Dani Kopa, Pol Jas ol dispela lain i stap."

¹⁴¹ Rall survey response.

¹⁴² Ibid.

B. Bible Schools Work with Timothy Lutheran Seminary

However, it was also during the 1980s that there was an effort to help the Bible Schools work together. Much of that effort came from Timothy Lutheran Seminary and was intended both to help the Bible Schools and to strengthen the work of the seminary. The work to help the Bible Schools directly was led mainly by Nancy Burce. In addition to teaching general studies classes at Timothy Lutheran Seminary, Nancy took on the responsibility of getting supplies for the seminary and the Bible Schools. By 1985 she gathered together the teachers from the various Bible Schools in an effort to provide additional teaching skills and to work together on developing and producing materials that were needed to help the Bible Schools do their work.

At the same time the need to strengthen the program of Timothy Lutheran Seminary was being felt, and under the leadership of Principal Jerry Burce, the Bible Schools became more closely integrated with the seminary program. Although their main aim was still to provide training for evangelists, there was an effort to make the programs and standards at all of the Bible Schools similar. The classes included an overview of the Old and New Testaments, a detailed course in *Luther's Small Catechism*, a course on the work of an evangelist using a book entitled *Man Bilong Gutnius* (Man of the Good News) written by Marcus Felde, and a course to enhance basic literacy and math skills. The minutes of the Board of Control of Timothy Lutheran Seminary from June 25–26, 1986 provide a good picture of the developing work between the Bible Schools and TLS. After describing various options developed by the teachers and presented to the Board, the minutes read:

TLS 86-15 The approved plan of TLS must be as follows:

1. From 1987 until 1990, we will continue with the four year program at TLS.
2. In addition, we at TLS will work hard immediately to strengthen all of the Bible Schools so that they will be able to teach many of the courses from the first year of seminary studies.
3. Starting in 1989 we will not accept any students at TLS if they have not successfully completed the Bible School course. Also in 1989 we will change all the courses of the first year at Birip so that the first year will

not repeat the courses which were completed at the Bible Schools and instead the students will go directly into seminary-type courses.¹⁴³

The minutes continue with various options to be considered if this does not work, but end with a strong statement that the work of strengthening the education for pastors must continue.

Thus, from a small beginning ten years before in one region of the GLC, the Bible School program became an integral part of the overall theological education program of the GLC. Although political struggles within the Gutnius Lutheran Church and a declining missionary population have limited the development of the Bible School program as envisioned by the TLS Board, the three schools continue to operate ten years after the above minutes were written. They are all staffed by Papua New Guinean pastors. Students who “successfully complete the Bible School course go to congregations and work as evangelists and Sunday school teachers. Those who pass the entrance test for the seminary go on to the seminary.”¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ “Timoti Luteran Semineri Minit bilong Bod bilong Stiaim Semineri, ol i miting long 25–26 Jun 1986.” (Timothy Lutheran Seminary minutes of the Board of Control of the Seminary, from their meeting on 25–26 June 1986.) In Melanesian Pidgin:

“TLS 86-15 Plen tru bilong TLS i mas i stap olsem:

1. Long 1987 i go inap long pinis bilong 1990, mipela i strongim 4-pela yia program long TLS yet.
2. Na tu, mipela TLS i mas taitim bun nau tasol long strongim moa ol Baibel Skul, inap long mipela i ken lusim planti kos bilong Yia 1 i go long han bilong ol.
3. Stat long 1989 mipela i no inap kisim man i kam long TLS sapos em i no bin winim Baibel Skul kos pastaim. Na long 1989 mipela bai senisim ol kos bilong Yia 1 long Birip, bai Yia 1 i no ken tasim gen ol kos bilong Baibel Skul na ol bai i go wantu long kainkain kos bilong semineri stret.”

¹⁴⁴ Timothy Pape survey response. In Melanesian Pidgin: “Ol husait winim Baibel ol i go long kongrigesen na mekim wok Evanselis na husait winim Tes bilong seminari ol i go long seminari na sampela sande skul tisa.”

VIII. Various Theological Education by Extension Programs

During the past twenty years, the phrase “Theological Education by Extension” (TEE) seems to have become an important part of the vocabulary and strategy of missionaries who have focused their attention on theological education around the world. One aspect of TEE is that it is a way to get away from the costs of bricks and mortar by taking the education to the students rather than bringing the students to the education. Another aspect is that it allows students to continue to lead their lives where they are and continue in their employment while studying to become a leader in the church. Some of these ideas have worked well and others have not worked so well. The phrase known as TEE seems to have an incredibly broad definition and it is sometimes hard to determine what fits under the umbrella of TEE, where it ends and where congregational ministry begins. Rather than try to precisely define what TEE means, or should mean, the following paragraphs will seek to describe things which seem, in general terms, to fit under the “aspects of TEE” as identified above: to get away from the costs of bricks and mortar, and allow students to continue to lead lives where they are and continue in their employment.

As a starting point, it should be noted that the programs discussed above (Birip School for Church Workers/Timothy Lutheran Seminary, Martin Luther Seminary, and the “permanent” evangelist training/pre-seminary programs known as Bible Schools) are not usually included under the umbrella of TEE. They are generally seen as residential programs, which require students to spend several months or more away from their home places. In one sense some of them (Bible Schools in particular) have been a part of “taking the education to the people,” in that there was an attempt to get into the local communities. Yet the institutional character of the schools into which they developed seems to put them outside of the true sense of TEE.

TEE often seems to focus on a somewhat de-centralized method of instruction which, interestingly enough, was not entirely accepted in the early days of the work in what became the Gutnius Lutheran Church. In a sense, the following perspective takes us back to the pre-institutional stage and possibly even to “pre-theological education,” if theological education is narrowly defined as training pastors and evangelists. However, it was indeed theological education in that it was the beginning of providing theological understanding to those who would become leaders in the Gutnius Lutheran Church. The following is a description by Willard Burce of what happened as work began at Irelya, the second Lutheran mission station established among the Enga people:

In the early 1950s people at Irelya, and the area around Irelya, were coming to church on Sunday. About 1500 people were coming. They had not decided to have a regular program of catechesis. I suggested that to them. Regular instruction in catechism and the Bible. They jumped at the idea and they said . . . the idea that they came up with . . . [since we are from] all these different communities, what we probably should do is select a couple of families from each of the communities and have them move to Irelya so that they would be there every day for instruction of *Miti* [gospel, worship], which they did. Theological education. We made these selections. Two young families from about fifteen communities, including Irelya. They built houses around the perimeter of the station and built gardens. They formed a community such as had not been there before. People who had been *birua* [enemies] before had instruction twice a day and then on Friday afternoon they would head out and have *lotu* [worship] at their home area. Then after a few months of doing that they said, “Why don’t we start swapping?” Instead, someone from Aipos went to Lenki . . . It was really appropriate for that time. They formed a community where they could be together for instruction and for Christian life and worship.¹⁴⁵

Does this story fit the pattern of TEE or that of an institutional “bricks and mortar” method of education? The answer could be “yes”—that is, not either/or but both at the same time. Presented with the opportunity for further education in this new faith, the people themselves decided that a community should be created in which some people could engage in more intensive study on a regular basis. Furthermore, it was created with families, not just the men, even though it was a very male dominated society. Yet, this was not the end of the story, for each week they went out to their own home areas to continue the proclamation and teaching of this new information which they had received. It should be noted here that this was in the early 1950s and the first baptism did not take place at Irelya until 1957.

¹⁴⁵ Burce interview.

From this perspective, it appears that when given a choice on how to gain an understanding of God's Word, the choice of the people was to create a study community. In a sense, Timothy Lutheran Seminary in the 1990s continued a very similar method of instruction in that the families came together for a course of study and then students went out on the weekends to field-work congregations in the surrounding communities. In a relationship-oriented society, coming together in a group seemed, and seems, to be an effective way to do theological education.

At the same time, it must be acknowledged that this was not a completely institutionalized setting, as we might think of a seminary program today. There was no prescribed period of study ending with a degree and ordination, although there was a result—the first baptisms—that developed out of these studies. In addition, this study community was certainly more localized than most institutionalized training programs are, even in the Gutnius Lutheran Church today. These families were representatives of the people of Irelya and the surrounding communities, probably no more than a couple of hours' walk away from the Irelya community. This should not minimize the decision that they made to cross enemy lines to be a part of this educational process, but it does recognize the fact that there was not a huge travel budget. Furthermore, there was enough land with the cooperation of the Irelya people to allow for the building of houses (temporary as all houses in Papua New Guinea were at that time) and gardens for this to take place. This same scene was recreated at Yaramanda, Yaibos, Saka Raiakam—in essence, at every place a “mission station” was established. The teachers included both expatriate missionaries and coastal New Guinean Christians who served as missionaries to the highlands people.

While more observations could be made, perhaps it is best to summarize the whole initial theological education enterprise described above by identifying it as different than TEE. It was more than an individualistic, how-do-we-make-it-as-economical-and-painless-as-possible method of theological training. It was something that the local people saw as being important enough to pull together as a community and designate certain individuals to take on the task, to support them and to enable a community to develop around this educational process.

The following description of early catechism education and evangelism work by Spruth seems to fit well with the above observations:

Already in 1949 a group of men were enrolled in a catechumen class and began to receive regular instructions in the Word of God. Similar classes were begun at Irelya in 1951, Yaibos in 1953, Sirunki in 1954, and Papayuku in 1955. Some classes were also organized by the New Guinean evangelists at their stations. The instruction given to the catechumens was both Biblical and doctrinal. Bible stories were used to show the people the all-powerful God who not only created them, but also cared for them and helped them. Wishing to continue in the tradition of the Lutheran Church in New Guinea, the Kate word *Anatu* was used for the name of God. Literacy was made a part of the instructions given to the catechumens and was given the strongest emphasis at Sirunki and Papayuku. As soon as they were able, catechumens were drawn into a witnessing program. Many of them went out to remote areas on Saturday and Sunday and taught the people the Bible stories and concepts they had just learned. This set the pattern for the responsibility of witnessing from the very beginning.¹⁴⁶

Another way of instruction which fits with the aspects of TEE identified above is described in the following observations from different missionaries. Marcus Felde, reflecting on his various roles as a missionary in Papua New Guinea, clearly identifies some of the “non-standard” or “non-bricks and mortar” aspects of theological education when he writes:

I had many roles during my fourteen years in PNG; the casual teaching contacts of a circuit advisor, courses at the circuit level, teaching and acting-principal at Birip, teaching and serving as Dean of Studies at MLS, sending New Guineans to study overseas as Dean of Faculty Development, arranging for graduate and other continuing education in PNG, etc. I was aware that even my non-teaching roles (e.g., as circuit advisor) played a role in theological education by implanting notions and expectations about how the church should run.¹⁴⁷

Observations by Mark Schroeder also point away from the more formal and standard ways of thinking about theological education when he writes:

The most successful part of theological education in Enga Province was the ability of staff to model the Christian life. I believe that this was more important than the actual classroom experience. Relationships and the teaching that went on in the context of these relationships were the most important thing in T.E. in PNG. The classroom experiences merely set the stage for the relationships between the staff and the students.¹⁴⁸

In one sense Schroeder’s comments fit with the more individualized instruction of TEE in which one meets people where they are. Theological education does take place outside of the bricks and mortar kind of setting which is identified with institutions such as Bible

¹⁴⁶ Spruth, “The Mission of God,” 138.

¹⁴⁷ Felde survey response.

¹⁴⁸ Schroeder survey response.

Schools and seminaries. At the same time, his comments highlight another important observation within the Papua New Guinean context: “Relationships and the teaching that went on in the context of these relationships were the most important thing in T.E. in PNG. The classroom experiences merely set the stage for the relationships between the staff and the students.” It may seem rather repetitive, but it needs to be pointed out clearly that in a relationship-oriented society the relationships have to come before real instruction can take place, for it is through relationships that trust is developed and instruction can be received. It is interesting to note that for Schroeder, “the classroom experiences set the stage for the relationships . . .” While he identified the relationship between student and teacher, the relationships between students should probably also be considered significant in the theological education process, as students cross clan and ethnic lines and work at creating colleagues in faith and ministry out of those who speak different languages or even those who have been (and may still be) from enemy clans.

In this context it, is important to point out that the TEE emphasis of leaving people in their places at their regular employment and providing theological education on an individualistic basis actually seems to limit the development of relationships which take place when people are brought together for several months at a time in a more traditional theological education program. The people from the other side of the mountain remain on the other side of the mountain and are more easily seen as “enemies” instead of fellow believers with whom one has lived and studied. Dr. Robert Newton, who served as a professor at Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne and who was involved in developing an LCMS TEE program known as DELTO¹⁴⁹ identified the forming of relationships and community as one of the strengths of what was happening at Timothy Lutheran Seminary. When he served a one year sabbatical at Timothy Lutheran Seminary he remarked that seeing a program like the one at Timothy Lutheran Seminary enabled him to realize the strengths a residential program could have over the de-centralized program which TEE often emphasizes.

A couple of sentences by Larry Matro, who also served as a missionary in Papua New Guinea for a number of years, describe the variety which makes up theological

¹⁴⁹ The DELTO program is designed to provide Distance Education Leading to Ordination.

education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church. He writes, "Theological education took place in the seminary, Bible Schools and short courses offered throughout the GLC. It also occurred through circuit meetings, literature distribution and through one-on-one discussion with pastors and people."¹⁵⁰ In other words, there have been and are many different aspects of theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church. TEE has had, and continues to have, its role in theological education in Papua New Guinea alongside of the more institutionalized theological education programs.

A final topic to consider under TEE relates to the more organized or formal Theological Education by Extension programs which have been part of the Gutnius Lutheran Church. There is some evidence that there were efforts to have TEE as a regular part of theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church in addition to the "catch as catch can" activities above. One such effort was related to Timothy Lutheran Seminary and the Bible Schools. As the Bible Schools and the Pidgin language program at Timothy Lutheran Seminary developed, there was an effort by the faculty of Timothy Lutheran Seminary to work with the Bible School teachers to provide "short courses" at the end of the regular academic year. These were one- or two-week courses aimed at pastors and evangelists at work in the church. Often a seminary teacher or two and a Bible School teacher were involved in teaching the courses. When available, a Region Missionary was also involved. Sometimes the courses were held at the seminary site and at other times they were held at Bible School sites. (It should be noted that similar short courses were offered by the ELC—PNG seminaries at Ogelbeng and Logaweng.) Unfortunately, during the late 1980s as the number of missionaries declined, the ability to offer the short courses seemed to diminish. More and more administrative and maintenance tasks fell to the missionaries and Papua New Guinean church workers, and the short courses were squeezed out of their schedules.

Short courses were usually well received by those who attended, although it was sometimes difficult to know at what level to teach the course since everyone wanted to come: those who had completed the seminary program, those who had completed the

¹⁵⁰ Lawrence Matro survey response. He served as an evangelistic missionary in PNG from 1985 to 1993.

Bible School program, and those who had not yet been to Bible School but were working as evangelists. With a such a spread of students, the likelihood of someone being bored or someone being lost was high. Although this program was somewhat more formal, it was still a secondary function in that everyone involved in leadership roles had other full time responsibilities.

Around 1990 there was a new development of more formal TEE in the Gutnius Lutheran Church. It was partly the result of a split in political leadership in the Gutnius Lutheran Church and the subsequent efforts of Timothy Lutheran Seminary and LCMS missionaries to stay out of the middle of the political arena. Many congregations looked to the seminary faculty, the Bible School faculties and the missionaries as church workers who were not directly involved in the leadership struggles of the church at that time. In addition, the LCMS was more willing to fund theological education work than other projects which might be seen as more political in nature. It was also during this time that TEE was being encouraged by the LCMS as a way to get away from supporting the more expensive brick and mortar programs of residential theological education.

A TEE project was written and established under the leadership of Papua New Guinean Pastor Eka Ondopa. It developed in several interesting ways. One aspect of this TEE program was a focus on getting pastors from both of the political sides together for educational and discussion opportunities without political motives. Another aspect of the the program was to get some type of theological education out to circuits and congregations in the form of short courses (as noted above), study helps for pastors and evangelists, and audio-visual presentations which had not been been done in some time. All of the administrative work was done outside of the seminary and Bible School programs, although seminary and Bible School teachers were asked to do presentations. In addition, a video projector and generator were purchased and Bible-oriented videos were shown in many parts of the church as part of the theological education programs. These were made available not only to the pastors and evangelists, but also to the local people in the evenings, and proved to be a great attraction.

Another aspect of TEE which developed during this same period of time had to do with the development of Bible study materials. From the beginning of church work among

the Enga people there was a need for the development of materials to be used among the people, initially in the Enga language and then later in the Pidgin language. One book which was written and printed around 1980 was *Stadi Revelesen* (Study of Revelation), written by Karl Stotik and designed as part of a TEE program. Missionary Terry Borchard responded to the question, "Were there any continuing education courses provided for those who had completed the initial Timothy Lutheran Seminary program? If yes, describe how they were administered (location, time, who taught, etc.) and what courses were offered." He wrote:

Karl Stotik tried to do continuing education by traveling to areas like Sirunki to meet with pastors on a regular basis. I have no idea what kinds of courses he may have tried to teach, but I got the impression that it was rather frustrating for him because the response wasn't as good as it could have been.¹⁵¹

Unfortunately, by 1985 Stotik had left Papua New Guinea and there was no ongoing TEE program, nor was there a great deal of evidence that there ever had been a program of any significance. By the end of the 1980s the book written by Stotik was being used as part of the residential theological education program at Timothy Lutheran Seminary.

During the 1980s there was also an effort to develop a journal which addressed the work of pastors and theology among the highland peoples of Papua New Guinea. The journal entitled *Stadi long Tiolosi na Wok Pasto* (Study of Theology and Pastoral Work) was written in Melanesian Pidgin, and the first issue was authored, edited, and published jointly by Jerome Burce of Timothy Lutheran Seminary and Gregory Lockwood of Lutheran Highlands Seminary, Ogelbeng.¹⁵² The first edition of the journal appeared in 1985. Although the minutes of the Board of Control of Timothy Lutheran Seminary indicate approval of the publishing of this journal as part of the work of Timothy Lutheran Seminary, the overwhelming workload among the faculty and the departure of the two missionaries who were the impetus behind the journal limited its continued production. A

¹⁵¹ Terrance Borchard survey response. He has served as an evangelistic missionary and Bible translator in PNG from 1969 to the present.

¹⁵² Ogelbeng is the location of Lutheran Highlands Seminary, a Pidgin-speaking seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea located about two and a half hours from Timothy Lutheran Seminary by car.

second issue of the journal was produced in 1992 at Timothy Lutheran Seminary with articles and sermon helps by various Papua New Guinean authors. (With a publishing schedule like that, it is too soon to tell if a third issue will be published.) This too was well received, but time constraints made it impossible to continue the publishing of this journal which could have been a helpful part of TEE by getting the material out to people in the outlying areas.

In 1996 another Bible study document was developed and made a part of the TEE program of the Gutnius Lutheran Church. The Crossways materials entitled *See Through the Scriptures* were translated into Melanesian Pidgin by Jeanette and John Eggert (with the permission of the author, Rev. Harry Wendt). They were printed and picture charts were made available along with the printed materials. Under the leadership of Rev. Eka Ondopa, the Gutnius Lutheran Church TEE coordinator, the pastors and evangelists of the Gutnius Lutheran Church were brought together in various locations for a course which covered about one-fourth of the lessons. They were given the materials and assigned the responsibility of going out and teaching the course in their circuits. When the second course was offered, they were only allowed to attend if they had completed the teaching task. The materials were well received by the pastors, evangelists and the people. It was a way of providing material to take the Word to the people. It was TEE at work in the Gutnius Lutheran Church.

The above examples and observations provide an overview of theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church that fits reasonably well under the heading of Theological Education by Extension. More examples could be given, but from what we have looked at it is obvious that TEE has played a role in the theological education process in the Gutnius Lutheran Church and will continue to do so. At the same time, there are limitations to what can be accomplished through TEE, and there can be questions as to how it relates to the other aspects of theological education which are part of the overall picture of the work of the church.

IX. Continuing Education for Church Workers

In some ways, continuing education could be considered a part of what is described in chapter VIII. Much of the TEE that has been a part of theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church is related to providing continuing education to evangelists and pastors who have already received some training. However, in this section we will look at an aspect of continuing education that has been a bit more formal and intentional than what was considered in the previous chapter. Continuing theological education in a formal sense has been rather limited in the Gutnius Lutheran Church. It is worth noting at this point that this is a challenge faced not only in the church but in many different parts of the developing work force in Papua New Guinea. Getting further education for teachers, medical workers and business workers is often a challenge and a limiting factor for the advancement of Papua New Guineans in their fields of work.

Within the Lutheran Melanesian Pidgin theological education programs, continuing education on a formal level is only now becoming a reality. At Timothy Lutheran Seminary there has been no opportunity for formal continuing education. As was noted above, the level of education at Timothy Lutheran Seminary has been partially limited by the level of incoming students. Any advanced level would require a second course of studies or additional courses added to the basic studies offered. The limited educational level of the students and limited number of faculty members has prevented this from happening. In a sense, there is one method of continuing education available to GLC church workers, that of completing the Bible School program and then going on to Timothy Lutheran Seminary. But once the Timothy Lutheran Seminary program has been completed, there is no organized or ongoing educational program.

Having pointed out the limitations within the Gutnius Lutheran Church Pidgin-speaking training programs, it is important to note that there have been a couple of instances in which continuing education has been tried. In the mid-1980s Pastor John

Hulip, a graduate of Timothy Lutheran Seminary and a teacher in a Gutnius Lutheran Church Bible School, was accepted as a student at Senior Flierl Seminary, a Pidgin-speaking seminary of the ELC—PNG. He completed one year of studies, which enabled him to review things he had studied and look at them from at least two different perspectives. One of the perspectives was that he had by then spent several years working as a pastor and a Bible school teacher, which allowed him to engage in his studies from a different point of view than when he initially studied at Timothy Lutheran Seminary. The second perspective was that he studied with different teachers and classmates and had an opportunity to take classes that had not been available at Timothy Lutheran Seminary when he was a student there. The opportunity for him to step back from his work and pursue theological studies on a full-time basis was helpful. Unfortunately, there was no official way to recognize his effort in terms of an additional degree or certificate.

A similar situation happened when the Board of Control of Timothy Lutheran Seminary approved a one-year study program (1990) for Pastor Dani Kopa who was a Timothy Lutheran Seminary graduate and had been teaching at TLS since 1981. An agreement was reached for Dani to attend Senior Flierl Seminary for one year in the same way that John Hulip had done. Dani benefited not only in studies but also in administrative understanding as he looked at how the school handled various administrative issues. Yet, except for getting a letter stating that he had attended for a year and had done well, there was no additional degree or certificate to recognize his efforts. While such a degree is not essential for learning, the lack of such recognition indicates that there is not really a program in place or an outlined course of continuing education.

A positive aspect of Timothy Lutheran Seminary having sent Dani for a year of continuing education was that the TLS Board of Control saw the need for a policy to provide opportunities for other teachers and gave initial approval to such a policy in November of 1991. It reads:

TLS 91-28 Policy concerning continuing education for teachers. We have heard and considered the new policy related to continuing education for all teachers at TLS and we are in agreement that: A policy like this should be established. However, we ask the teachers to review/revise the policy and add to point number five a statement about the establishment of a contract which will clearly indicate what this teacher will do when his continuing education is completed. The teachers must consider this issue

and bring it to the next meeting of the board.¹⁵³

Also in November of 1991 the Board of Control approved a one-year study leave for Pastor Daniel Watato, even though he had not completed the number of years required by the policy being developed, since he was the first graduate of Martin Luther Seminary on the Timothy Lutheran Seminary faculty and planned to complete his Bachelor of Theology degree. This was noted as follows:

TLS 91-38 Provide assistance for Pr. Daniel Watato for continuing education.
We heard the report that Pr. Daniel Watato is ready to go to MLS in 1992 in order to complete his Bachelor of Theology degree and when he completes it he wants to come back to TLS and continue his work as a teacher in 1993. To assist him TLS will continue to pay him as a teacher and will pay for his return trip. He will be responsible for paying the school fees and finding transport to go to Lae.¹⁵⁴

Pastor Watato attended Martin Luther Seminary for a period of time, but because of other challenges which developed he did not complete the Bachelor of Theology degree as planned. However, he did return to Timothy Lutheran Seminary and resume his work as a faculty member.

Another aspect of continuing education that has been a part of the story of theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church has been the sending of GLC leaders overseas to continue their education. Two men have been sent to the United States for studies, one a teacher and the other a pastor.

The teacher was Mr. Pato Angare who was a graduate of Balob Teachers College in Papua New Guinea. Balob Teachers College is a teacher education institution operated jointly by the Lutheran and Anglican churches of Papua New Guinea. It provides teachers who are certified by the PNG government Department of Education to teach from grade

¹⁵³ "Timoti Luteran Semineri—Minit Bilong Bod Bilong Stiaim Semineri, ol i miting long 15 Novemba 1991" (Timothy Lutheran Seminary—Minutes of the Board of Control meeting held 15 November 1991), (Birip, Enga Province, Papua New Guinea: Timothy Lutheran Seminary, 1991), duplicated. In Melanesian Pidgin: "TLS 91-28 Polosi bilong skruim save bilong ol tisa: Mipela harim tok long nupela polosi bilong skruim save bilong karamapim ol tisa bilong TLS na mipela i tok: Gutpela long polosi kain olsem i ken i kamap tasol mipela i laik long ol tisa i ken klinim liklik na skruim hap poin namba 5—Hap Tok long wanpela kontrak i mas kamap bilong soim ples kliia dispela tisa bai mekim wanem taim skruim save i pinis. Ol tisa i mas lukluk long dispela na bringim i kam long neks miting."

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. In Melanesian Pidgin: "TLS 91-38 Givim helpim long Pr. Daniel Watato bilong skruim save: Mipela i harim ripot long Pr. Daniel Watato i redi long go long MLS long 1992 bilong pinisim BTH na bihain em i laik i kam bek long TLS bilong mekim wok tisa gen na mipela i tok: Pr. Daniel Watato bai i go i stap wanpela yia long MLS na TLS bai holim em olsem tisa na i wanbel long em i mas kam bek long TLS long 1993."

one through grade ten, depending on the course they have completed. Mr. Angare completed his training at Balob and taught in a school of the Gutnius Lutheran Church for a time. He was then asked to become a faculty member at Timothy Lutheran Seminary. While teaching at Timothy Lutheran Seminary, a scholarship was secured for him to attend Concordia Theological Seminary, Ft. Wayne. He came to the States, did course work on a Master of Arts in Religion degree and returned to teach at Timothy Lutheran Seminary. Soon after his return, he was appointed as principal of Timothy Lutheran Seminary and during that time a discussion began as to whether or not he could be ordained into the pastoral ministry of the Gutnius Lutheran Church. After various discussions, it was decided that since he had not actually done any pastoral studies, it would be best for him to complete a vicarage and the final year of pastoral studies at Martin Luther Seminary before being ordained.¹⁵⁵ Pato found this unacceptable and eventually resigned as principal of Timothy Lutheran Seminary, finding employment with a branch of the Papua New Guinea government.

The second Gutnius Lutheran Church leader who continued his education overseas was Pastor John Nathan. John completed his studies at Martin Luther Seminary, graduating with a Bachelor of Theology degree. He worked for a couple of years as a pastor in a Gutnius Lutheran Church congregation, during which time a scholarship was secured for him to attend Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, to work on a Master of Arts in Religion degree. During the 1997–1998 school year John attended Concordia Seminary and completed his degree. He returned to Papua New Guinea and was put on the the faculty at Timothy Lutheran Seminary.

The other continuing education efforts which need to be noted here are those that are being offered by Martin Luther Seminary. With English as its language of instruction, it has a wider community upon which to draw for support in terms of having visiting instructors for special course offerings. Dr. Martin Scharleman, Dr. Norman Nagel, Dr. Won Yong Ji and Dr. Robert Rosin are among the faculty members from Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, who have served as guest lecturers at Martin Luther Seminary. Dr. Wi Jo Kang, Dr. Duane Priebe, and Dr. James L. Bailey of Wartburg Seminary have also

¹⁵⁵ Burce interview.

served as visiting instructors. In addition, there have been several visiting instructors from Luther Seminary in Adelaide, Australia. All of this helps the school offer courses in addition to what the regular faculty is teaching during the school year. Martin Luther Seminary has been quite regular in offering continuing education courses for those who have graduated from the school.

In addition to offering a bachelor of theology degree accredited by the Melanesian Association of Theological Schools, Martin Luther Seminary has also sought ways to develop a master's level program. The following paragraphs from a September 3, 1996 "Report on the MLS/WTS [Martin Luther Seminary/Wartburg Theological Seminary] Graduate Inservice Programme at Martin Luther Seminary, 1996" provide background on the efforts to develop that program.

In 1994 and 1995, Dr. Duane Priebe of Wartburg Theological Seminary visited Papua New Guinea and conducted inservice courses at Martin Luther Seminary for the faculty of the four Lutheran seminaries. Following his second visit, he worked out a plan for a graduate program which would offer regular, short, intensive graduate-level courses at Martin Luther Seminary with which a person who already held a B.Th. could satisfy half of the requirements to earn an M.A. at Wartburg. Courses would be accredited by Wartburg and taught either by Wartburg faculty or by qualified adjunct faculty—MLS faculty holding doctorates in theology.

The objectives of this program would be:

- 1) To set advanced theological studies within the Papua New Guinea context, where none are currently available.
- 2) To make graduate studies in theology available to a larger number of people than present.
- 3) To make inservice courses more demanding and worthwhile by giving credit for them.
- 4) To make it more economical for the churches to upgrade the level of theological education among PNG clergy.
- 5) To strengthen the faculties of the seminaries by involving their teachers in the discipline of advanced coursework.
- 6) To raise the level of theological training in general, among the pastors of the Lutheran church in PNG.¹⁵⁶

There is much yet to be done in bringing this program to completion and providing graduates for the work of the church. However, it is a step in the direction of providing advanced theological education in Papua New Guinea which could readily become a part of the theological education program of the Gutnius Lutheran Church.

¹⁵⁶ "Report on the MLS/WTS [Martin Luther Seminary/Wartburg Theological Seminar] Graduate Inservice Programme at Martin Luther Seminary, 1996," (Lae, Papua New Guinea: Martin Luther Seminary, 3 September 1996), duplicated.

During the 1990s some LCMS mission leaders expressed a desire to focus more on the work at Timothy Lutheran Seminary and the Bible Schools since that is where the bulk of the workers for the Gutnius Lutheran Church come from at present. While that may be true, and even economically sensible, it does not necessarily look to the future of the Lutheran church in PNG, for just as in the rest of the world, the educational status of Papua New Guinea is not static. The following paragraph written by John Rutz, a recent missionary who taught at Timothy Lutheran Seminary and wrestled with the issues facing the Gutnius Lutheran Church, provides a helpful perspective on this.

I guess what I'm envisioning is a need to upgrade the academic standards at TLS if it isn't to be left behind in the educational reforms of PNG. It will become more and more difficult as time goes on for pastors (and a seminary) who are seen as poorly educated (or deficient in their standards) to minister to the "hot shot" youth who can't be bothered by the "*kanages*" [hillbillies/uneducated] who populate the church. (Of course respect today in PNG is mostly measured in *Kina* and *Toea* [money], which adds another aspect to this paragraph, but there does seem to be some respect granted—for a minute or two at a time—to people of superior "knowledge," for lack of a better term, though perhaps only because of the earning potential to which that knowledge might be put).¹⁵⁷

As time goes on, one of the challenges before the Gutnius Lutheran Church in terms of theological education will be to deal constructively and effectively with these issues if the church is to remain a serious player in the local communities. This is not new. The early evangelists who were sent out into the communities were often the only ones who could read and write. By the 1980s education was so widespread that many young people in the community were able to read as well or better than the pastors who graduated from Timothy Lutheran Seminary. In addition, in some communities the person who could read the best was appointed as the evangelist by the local congregation, not because of theological abilities but because he could read. These issues will no doubt continue and are part of what the Papua New Guinean Christians face as they become increasingly more responsible for the training of their own pastors.

¹⁵⁷ Personal letter to the author from John Rutz, 23 June 1999.

X. Papua New Guinean Christians Take Up the Challenge of Theological Education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church

A. They Took Part in the Challenge from the Beginning

The title of this chapter can easily be applied to what is happening in the 1990s and a major part of the material presented will point in that direction. However, as we have seen, Papua New Guineans have been a part of the process of theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church from the beginning of the work. Having been introduced to what the Lutheran church had to offer, Minjuku Yasima and Kowa Waimane of Yaramanda were instrumental in bringing the Lutheran church and its accompanying “theological education” to the Enga people. While they likely did not envision all of what has been described already, they were familiar with the settlement that had been established at Ogelbeng and the physical and spiritual benefits which were provided for the people.

It is quite clear that, as the request was being fulfilled, it was the expatriate missionaries who were directing the movement and activities of those coming over the mountains from Ogelbeng to the Yaramanda side. This opened the whole population of the Lai river valley to the evangelistic efforts of the Lutheran church. Yet an important part of that first group were those Christians who were Papua New Guinean, both coastal peoples and highland peoples, from outside of the Enga language group. As the church grew, they became teachers of theology. What they taught may not originally have been theological education leading to pastoral ministry, but as we have seen, it was theological education in the basics of Christianity, which was then passed on to others. This fact makes those Papua New Guineans from outside of the Enga language group teachers of the first evangelists, even if it was not in an official sense. Thus, from early on the Papua New Guineans were taking on the challenge of theological education. And in 1998, at

the 50th anniversary of the beginning of Lutheran work among the Enga people, there were church leaders who clearly remembered the influence of the initial New Guinean “theological educators” in their lives.

In an effort to have former missionaries reflect on the involvement of Papua New Guineans in the theological education process, I included the following question in the surveys: “When and how did local people become involved in theological education?”

Rev. Ron Rall, who served in Papua New Guinea from 1974 to 1981, replied:

They were involved as instructors at Birip as long as I can remember, playing an equal role with expat teachers. When we organized the first Regional Bible School a pastor was called to help with the teaching load and shared responsibilities with the missionary. He was Pastor Betanjo, [of] Maramuni.¹⁵⁸

And so is clear that, local people have been involved in various ways as theological education has developed in the Gutnius Lutheran Church.

B. Taking Up the Administrative Challenge

Yet there is obviously more to the story than this initial involvement, and it is this “more” which needs to be considered now. The request for the Lutheran church to come into the Enga area came from Minjuku Yasima and Kowa Waimane and then from others along the way. Papua New Guineans from various places outside of the Enga area were involved. But the leadership, the organizing force, and the supplies and finances came from the “Europeans”—that is primarily from the Australians and the Americans, with other assistance coming from time to time from other sources. Those personnel and resources were responsible for seeing that things moved forward. Therefore we must now consider the current challenge of Papua New Guineans taking up the task of administering theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church.

Part of the challenge for the Papua New Guineans has to do with how to handle the administrative responsibilities which enable the institutions (seminaries, Bible Schools, TEE program) to function. Leadership skills and the ability to make things happen are a requirement. Obviously these skills have been a part of the Enga culture since long before

¹⁵⁸ Rall survey response.

the church appeared in Enga-land in 1948. However, with the coming of the church and western ways, things have changed. The idea that all are brothers and sisters in Christ cuts across tribal and enemy lines. How to make an administration work in that setting is a new and significant challenge.

During a church administrative crisis of the late 1980s and the early 1990s a Theological Education by Extension gathering was planned and the leader (a Papua New Guinean) approached me and asked if I would lead a session on *Sios Politik* (church politics). After feeling like it was a no-win request, I decided to focus on a discussion of the task of administration. The session began with several questions as to what the responsibilities of various church administrative positions were. After little or no response to those questions by the participants, we focused on how the positions had been established. It was not done by evil people seeking to control others, but by well-meaning missionaries attempting to put into place what they felt was best for the development of the church. While it did not always turn out to be the best in the cultural setting of Papua New Guinea, it was nonetheless done for the good of the church. When the focus turned to the development of a national church and phasing out of the missionaries, Papua New Guineans were trained to take on the tasks. Yet they approached the tasks from a different perspective than the missionaries who had designed the structure.

We then looked at the fact that in the midst of the political and administrative crisis, the Gutnius Lutheran Church now needed to consider its needs from a Papua New Guinean cultural point of view, having become aware of what was beyond its borders (both in a close sense and in a distant world-at-large sense). Then the Gutnius Lutheran Church would face the task of developing the administration necessary for the work of the church. In short, they needed to identify the administrative responsibilities and positions and define them as they saw fit. It is a necessary step in the true indigenization of the church for the local people to create the necessary structure from their own point of view.

In the area of theological education similar processes need to take place and have been taking place. Birip School for Church Workers, Timothy Lutheran Seminary, Martin Luther Seminary and the GLC Bible Schools all developed with missionaries in the administrative positions. There was a need for a vision larger than what the local people

had and for skills which they had not yet developed. Furthermore, there were things which the outsiders could do that local people could not do, such as crossing enemy lines. Even in the mid-1990s, Bishop David Piso said of missionaries, "They can go places where I can't go because of my traditional tribal enemies."

However, as of 1998 all of the administrative and decision-making leadership tasks of the above-mentioned schools (with the exception of financial record keeping at Timothy Lutheran Seminary and the Bible Schools, which will be discussed further below) and TEE are done by Papua New Guineans. To be sure, there are challenges and some holes in the road where things might go smoother or progress more rapidly if things were done in a different way. Yet progress is being made and skills are being developed.

A couple of examples specifically from Timothy Lutheran Seminary help show this administrative development. In 1994–1995 Timothy Lutheran Seminary worked on developing a "10 Yia Plen—(1995–2005)." The committee appointed by the Board of Control included five pastors, one of which was a missionary, who were either on the Board of Control or on the seminary faculty. The completed plan booklet was twenty pages in length and was submitted to the TLS Board of Control in November of 1995. It was the result of much hard work by the Papua New Guineans on the committee making it essentially their document. It included sections on the structure of Timothy Lutheran Seminary, the purpose of the plan, the facilities, the workers, the administrative work, the finances and budget, the curriculum, the Bible Schools, and continuing education.¹⁵⁹ If one were to go through the plan carefully and compare it with what is happening today it would be clear that not all of what was planned is coming to fruition. However, some of the plans are being realized, and the planning process itself was an important exercise by the Papua New Guineans in the taking up of the challenge of administration.

A second example has to do with a document entitled *Traim Kurikulum Bilong TLS*, 1996–2005 (Proposed Curriculum for TLS, 1996–2005). It developed out of the

¹⁵⁹ "10 Yia Plen—(1995–2005)" (10 Year Plan—(1995–2005)), (Birip, Enga Province, Papua New Guinea: Timothy Lutheran Seminary, 1995). The table of contents in Melanesian Pidgin: "Ol Samting I Stap Insait: 1. Straksa bilong Timoti Luteran Semineri, 2. Tok i go pas bilong plen, 3. Hap 1—Haus na Graun, 4. Hap 2—Ol Wokman na Wokmeri, 5. Hap 3—Wok Administrasen, 6. Hap 4—Fainas na Baset, 7. Hap 5—Kurikulm (Ol Kos), 8. Hap 6—Baibel Skul, 9. Hap 7—Skruim Save, 10. Pinisim Tok, 11. Wok Mak bilong ol Wokman bilong TLS."

planning process and was done completely by Pastor Daniel Watato, Academic Dean and Registrar of Timothy Lutheran Seminary. In consultation with the faculty, Daniel put together a twenty-nine page document. It described the curriculum, including the reason for each course, a possible three-year rolling schedule, which would allow students to enter the program at any point along the way, and basic course outlines, which suggested textbooks available at the time the plan was developed. Again, the bringing to reality of the plans in this document is not proceeding exactly as outlined. However, the efforts to look forward and see what might be done became a part of the educational process for the faculty and the Board of Control of Timothy Lutheran Seminary as they continue to develop administrative skills.

Much more could be written and discussed on this subject. However, what has been considered shows that the administration of theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church is no longer something done by missionaries. Rather it is done by the Papua New Guineans. They have participated in theological education from the very beginning of the Gutnius Lutheran Church, and are now leading the continuation and further development of the theological education programs of the GLC.

C. Taking Up the Financial Challenge

The consideration of the financial challenge of theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church has at least two parts which need to be examined. One part, briefly noted above, is the task of keeping track of the financial records. As the church developed, theological education became an integral part of the church, and funding came through one single channel, the finance office of the Gutnius Lutheran Church. However, the administration of the individual institutions (Birip School for Church Workers, Martin Luther Seminary, Timothy Lutheran Seminary, Bible Schools, etc.) was the responsibility of those institutions. The institutions developed their own budget requests and submitted them to the finance office of the Gutnius Lutheran Church. Once a church-wide budget was developed, each institution was given a portion of the funding and was required to provide documentation of its use in order to obtain the next allotment of funding. Although

there were usually Papua New Guineans involved at various levels, there was often a missionary “helping” (not necessarily dictating the expenditure of the funds but keeping the records) somewhere in the process. This was true in most levels of the work of the Gutnius Lutheran Church until the political difficulties of the late 1980s temporarily ended administrative funding, which the GLC received from the LCMS, and mostly ended the missionary involvement in the national church finances. After discussions with both groups that claimed leadership of the GLC, the LCMS continued theological education funding through mission channels and the boards that ran the various institutions provided the necessary administration of those funds. At the same time, LCMS World Mission financing of work changed to a focus on projects, which in essence continued the requirement of reporting on the use of previous money to get the next allotment.

By the end of 1988 the administration of Martin Luther Seminary was completely in the hands of Papua New Guineans, including the financial record keeping. However, the financial record keeping at Timothy Lutheran Seminary, the Bible Schools and the TEE program continued to be in the hands of the missionaries. Most of the decisions related to the spending of the money were made by the boards of the institutions which were all Papua New Guinean, but the income and out go of the monies was under the supervision of a missionary. Part of the reason was that “it had always been that way” and during the political battles in the Gutnius Lutheran Church no one, including the Papua New Guineans, wanted to see the theological education funds misused for political purposes. On a church-wide level, the one thing that was still happening was theological education, and everyone wanted to keep it that way. At one point a couple of years after an attempt by some of the church leaders to have the missionaries deported from Papua New Guinea, there was a discussion with the chairman of the Board of Control of Timothy Lutheran Seminary as to whether or not it would be a good idea to work at training a Papua New Guinean to handle the financial record keeping, especially in view of the possibility that missionaries could be forcibly removed. The chairman’s response was, “That is past now, things are working as they are, and we will not worry about that until it is necessary.”¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ Personal conversation with Beto Babylon, 1996.

Another reason that the financial record keeping was left in the hands of the missionaries, even when a Papua New Guinean became the principal of Timothy Lutheran Seminary, seems to stem from the challenges of being a part of a relationship-oriented culture. In a sense, the fact that the actual reporting of the financial transactions was made to a missionary seemed to put a limit on the favors asked of the Papua New Guinean administrator by his relatives. If someone asked the person to provide financial help from seminary funds, he could say, "I have to get that from _____ (the missionary)" and that would usually be accepted as a way of saying no, even though the administrator did in fact have the authority to expend the money if he chose to do so. Although some would see it as an "easy way out" by attributing such authority to the missionary, it effectively allowed the Papua New Guineans to develop the ability to handle administrative functions with a kind of backup for what they knew to be "right" in relation to the institution, but which was still a challenge in terms of what was "right" for tribal relationships.

The other portion of the financial challenge which needs to be considered is the source of the finances for theological education. As was noted above, the early gatherings of the people from several communities for intensive theological study was an idea of the people and seems to have been largely financed by the people. Burce reports: "They built houses around the perimeter of the station and built gardens. They formed a community such as had not been there before . . . people who had been *birua* [enemies] before had instruction twice a day . . ."¹⁶¹ From that description, it seems that this whole endeavor was undertaken by the people themselves. Those around the Irelya station provided areas of land for temporary houses and gardens to be built, and those who came for instruction did much of the work. In a sense, it was a relatively small expenditure and was locally financed. Although it was true that some people crossed enemy lines, it was also true that many of the people were related through marriage or ancestors. Yet, be that as it may, the costs seem to have been borne mainly by the community at large. We have also seen that similar things happened as the Good News was carried to the new communities which expressed an interest. Those who had formed the initial congregations felt an excitement

¹⁶¹ Burce interview.

and a responsibility for providing someone to take this new message, this Good News, to outlying communities.

However, at a certain point a change seems to have taken place. As a former Catholic Brother (who became a local businessman) put it, “all of the churches and missions made a mistake in saying that the Gospel is free.”¹⁶² This statement was not meant to indicate that people should have been required to pay for the Gospel. Rather, it was a way of saying that the Gospel and the freedom that comes with it also creates responsibility. This seems to fit with what happened in Papua New Guinea as various Christian denominations competed for converts among the Enga people. Part of the influx of missions and development was providing, from outside resources, what the people could not quickly provide for themselves. And, all too often, it seemed that the source of this outside help was unlimited.

This seems to fit with what happened in theological education as it developed. The humble beginnings of Birip School for Church Workers consisted of a utility shed in which Willard Burce lived and a number of thatched houses which the community provided for the students. Garden space was available for the food supply and the overall cost was minimal. However, as the task of theological education grew, the number of faculty required increased, the number of buildings required increased, technology for the printing of materials became necessary, and providing visual images for evangelistic work was seen as desirable. (In the late 1980s the remnants of kerosene powered filmstrip projectors were still around.) These things led to a need for increased finances beyond what the local people could provide. Coupled with the generosity of Western Christianity, all of the work of the church, including theological education, became part of a giver (western finances) and receiver (mission areas) mentality which became deeply ingrained in the Gutnius Lutheran Church as it developed. Although the help was provided with the best of intentions (to get the theological education programs or other projects up and running as quickly and as well as possible) it effectively took the responsibility for meeting the financial challenge out of the hands of the local people. This affected not only the

¹⁶² Personal conversation with Peter Mommers, 1995.

responsibility aspect of things but also the control aspect, since those who provide the finances for a project also exercise significant control over the project.

Obviously this explanation greatly simplifies what happened. Yet it helps one to get an idea of how theological education programs like those of Timothy Lutheran Seminary and Martin Luther Seminary could end up being ninety percent dependent on overseas monies for the support of the work.¹⁶³ And therein lies the financial challenge of theological education which needs to be taken up by the Christians of the Gutnius Lutheran Church. In 1990 each TLS student (and family) was charged a modest yearly school fee equivalent to about \$100, although the approximate cost for each student was \$1,500 for the year. The remaining cost was mostly covered by LCMS project money. Each MLS student (and family) was charged a fee of around \$300 for a year. For Martin Luther Seminary the balance of the program costs was covered by LCMS project money combined with the funding provided by the other supporting churches of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea (American, Australian, and European).

Lest one totally fault the generosity of Western Christianity and the rush to provide assistance in order to increase membership of one's own denomination, it is necessary to note that this type of outside project funding with minimal responsibility placed on the local people is also very much the way the government provides services. There are no property taxes. Income tax only becomes an issue at a certain level of income which does not affect many rural Papua New Guineans, while income tax paid by expatriates is four times the rate paid in the United States. School fees for the local elementary school were approximately \$10 for the year in 1990. School fees for high school students usually ranged from \$250 for day students to \$450 for boarding students per year. The teachers' salaries and funding for most of the facilities were paid by the national government which relied significantly on foreign aid from Australia and other worldwide development

¹⁶³ The issue of dependency is larger than can be addressed in this study, except for acknowledging that it exists and is an issue that will need to be addressed in the coming years as it relates to theological education in the GLC. Much has been written on how dependent new churches and their programs are on Western churches. One study directly related to theological education is *Viability in Context: A Study of the Financial Viability of Theological Education in the Third World—Seedbed or Sheltered Garden?* by Herbert M. Zorn. It doesn't directly address the work in the GLC, but does mention Senior Flierl Seminary of the ELC—PNG.

programs. With this type of minimal responsibility placed on the people by the government, it is less surprising when church members come to expect overseas aid to provide a major part of the church budget (including theological education) as well.

One major change which took place in church related finances was during the late 1970s when local pastors and evangelists were taken off the national church payroll and made the responsibility of the local congregations. Although it was a painful process at the time, both missionaries and Papua New Guineans have noted that the result has been that local workers are now better cared for and appreciated by the congregations than they were when they received a token salary from the national church office (which was, in essence, overseas money). However, such a change has not yet taken place in relation to theological education programs.

There have been efforts by Martin Luther Seminary and Timothy Lutheran Seminary to develop self-help programs such as raising pigs for sale, running a small local store to help subsidize the income of the school for certain things, and running a portable sawmill, which would help congregations cut timber for their own church buildings (by taking payment for the sawmill work in timber that would allow the seminary to do needed construction or to sell the timber locally and add to the general funding of the seminary). However, these projects have been limited in effectiveness, and, without sufficient faculty and staff to take care of the work, they end up limiting the time which can be devoted either to quality theological education or to the project.

Needless to say, the financial challenge of continuing to operate theological education programs is major and needs a great deal of attention by both Gutnius Lutheran Church leadership and mission organization leadership. On the one hand, it is probably some of the most important work to be funded by overseas sources. On the other hand, there is a need for it to become part of the responsibility of the Christians of the Gutnius Lutheran Church as the church matures. There has been some talk of involving Papua New Guineans in mission outreach in Indonesia. This might infuse the Gutnius Lutheran Church with a renewed mission excitement that could in turn encourage support of theological education by the Christians of the Gutnius Lutheran Church. This has yet to develop, but is "possibility thinking."

D. Taking Up the Theological Challenge

The concept of taking up the theological challenge has to do with making the theology of the Gutnius Lutheran Church a Melanesian theology and an Enga theology. This does not mean that what has been done in the previous 50 years has ignored Melanesian or Enga thought or concepts. Nor does it mean a complete replacement of basic Biblical, catechetical and other resources. In a sense it has to do with theological contextualization at the local level. Concretely it means that Gutnius Lutheran Church pastors are taking up the challenge of producing materials which are written and developed in their own language and thinking patterns.

An example of the difference in understanding, which can easily develop when looking at a situation (or a text) from a different cultural perspective comes in a conversation which John Nathan (a Papua New Guinean who spent a year at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, working on a Masters of Arts in Religion Degree) had with Jeanette Eggert. John was talking with her about the challenges of going to school in America, especially for the married students. He said,

The students who have children do something with the children—I think it is called day care. The parents only get them up and put them to bed but someone else takes care of them during the day. . . . And they do something with the old people, too. They put them in a nursing home. I think the children say, “When I was young, you put me in day care, so now I am putting you in a nursing home.” In Papua New Guinea we take care of each other.¹⁶⁴

John was coming to grips with what he was seeing from the perspective that his culture provided. While it may be argued that he did not really understand what was going on from the American perspective, there may also have been some truth or some new insight provided by how John perceived what he observed.

Obviously as the church developed there have been efforts to look at and develop things from a Melanesian and Enga perspective. Yet many of the materials available have been translated or authored by missionaries who grew up outside of Melanesia and Enga. Again, this does not necessarily mean the theology or the materials are not done well, but it

¹⁶⁴ Personal conversation between Jeanette Eggert and John Nathan, as told to the author by Jeanette, May 1998.

does mean that there is a certain “outsideness” in the theology and materials which will be removed as the theological challenge is handled first hand by Papua New Guineans themselves.

In some areas this is already being done. The Melanesian Institute is an organization which developed out of “the need for new missionaries to have a greater knowledge and understanding of the people, the cultures and the traditions of Melanesia.” Although this beginning was within the Catholic church, “since 1971, the Melanesian Institute have [sic] become a joint ecumenical venture in collaboration with the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Anglican Church and the United Church. Together with the Catholic Church they are officially represented on the governing board of the institute.”¹⁶⁵ The Melanesian Institute identifies the challenges and efforts in moving toward having Papua New Guineans take up the task of theological analysis:

Initially, and inevitably in a newly developing country, where a large proportion of the population is not yet literate, written contributions to this magazine have come mainly from the expatriate church workers. As a consequence, subscribers have been almost exclusively from the same sector. However, with more and more emphasis on the development of a truly local church, and the spread of literacy, slow though it be, future plans include efforts to broaden the readership of *Catalyst*, and to re-assess its relevance to the grass-roots church, by active encouragement of more written or verbal contribution and reaction by Melanesian church workers. . . .

A third magazine *Umben* (Net in *Tok Pisin* [the Melanesian Pidgin language]) was added to its publications in 1984. *Umben* is a *Tok Pisin* magazine designed for Church workers, pastors, community leaders—anyone who reads *Tok Pisin*. As an awareness raising publication, it aims to offer challenging insights into topical and relevant issues in our rapidly changing society. *Umben* has a significant role as a forum for concerned Melanesians.¹⁶⁶

Although the above paragraphs regarding the Melanesian Institute take us somewhat outside of the discussion of theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church, it should be noted that during the 1990s there were two Papua New Guinean pastors of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea involved in the work of the Melanesian Institute. Pastor Wesley Kigasung was an editorial consultant for Volume 23, No. 2 of 1993.¹⁶⁷ Pastor Kasik Kautil served in the administration of the Melanesian

¹⁶⁵ Alphonse Aime, ed., *Catalyst: Social Pastoral Magazine for Melanesia* (Goroka, EHP, Papua New Guinea: The Melanesian Institute) 21, no. 1 (1991): 7–8.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Alphonse Aime, ed., *Catalyst: Social Pastoral Magazine for Melanesia* (Goroka, EHP, Papua New Guinea: The Melanesian Institute) 23, no. 2 (1993): inside front cover.

Institute for several years. Both of these men have received degrees in theology from outside of Papua New Guinea and have been involved in various ways in theological education in Papua New Guinea, thus moving forward as Papua New Guineans take up this challenge.

As of 1998 no Gutnius Lutheran Church pastors have gotten to this level of participation. However, as has been noted above, several pastors have been involved in teaching and in developing teaching materials for their own courses. At Timothy Lutheran Seminary courses on worship, counseling, and preaching have most recently been taught by Papua New Guinean pastors. Pastor Lipa Pawapen put together necessary study guides for special *Wok Misin* (mission outreach) trips and compiled the reports related to those trips. At Timothy Lutheran Seminary, Pastor Daniel Watato has written and printed several books in Melanesian Pidgin, including *Stadi Long Bikipela Profet* (Study of the Major Prophets) TLS, 1991; *Yumi Stadi Long Efesas* (Let's Study Ephesians) TLS, 1994; and *Wok Ki—Lusim na Autim Sin* (The Work of the Keys—Forgiving and Confessing Sins), TLS, 1995. In the second edition of *Stadi Long Tiolosi na Wok Pasto* (Study of Theology and Pastoral Work), Pastor Dani Kopa provided an article entitled “*Olsem Wanem Long 'Tekewe Sin, Kisim Bek, na Mekim Mipela Fri'?*” (1992). It was a Bible study to help readers look more closely at what God says about forgiveness of sin, redemption and making us free. Several times during the 1980s and 1990s sermon studies were also written by both missionaries and Papua New Guinean pastors for printing and distribution throughout the church. In addition, the Papua New Guinean Bible School teachers have developed books which they use in teaching at the Bible Schools.

Obviously these are not on the same level as things published and edited by the Melanesian Institute. However, they are a step in the direction of Gutnius Lutheran Church pastors taking up the challenge of developing materials for theological education which are created from the Enga and Melanesian world view instead of having the background of American, European or Australian ways of thinking.

A final example which fits with the development of critical thinking in things theological comes from a Bible translator who has been working for over 15 years on a translation project among the Hewa people. Paul and Karen Vollrath were a part of the

LCMS mission as a teacher and a nurse in the 1960s. They returned to the United States, received training through the Summer Institute of Linguistics and returned to Papua New Guinea for work in Bible translation. One of the men, Nason, who worked with them on and off for a few years on the Hewa translation, became a student at Timothy Lutheran Seminary. After one year at Timothy Lutheran Seminary he returned home for the two month break over the Christmas holiday and Paul hired him to work on the translation project in order to help pay Nason's school fees for the next year. As they were checking some previously translated materials, Nason vehemently objected to how a certain paragraph had been translated. When Paul asked why he was objecting but no one had raised a concern about it before, Nason replied, "They were afraid to challenge how you had done it. But now I have been studying God's Word at the seminary and this does not say what it is supposed to say. We have to change it to make it a correct translation."¹⁶⁸ Nason saw the task as serious, and although he was not at the point of writing books, or even ready to go out as a pastor, he was taking up the challenge of addressing theological issues from his own cultural perspective.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Personal conversation with Paul Vollrath.

¹⁶⁹ The theological and cultural nature of the translation task is a whole subject in itself which cannot be addressed in this study, although it is suggested by the Nason story. For further reading related to the theological and cultural aspect of Bible translation, see *Translating the Message* by Lamin Sanneh. In explaining the rationale for his study, Sanneh provides a look into the whole area when he writes on page 6, "I evaluate the historiographical material by whether or not it supports the idea of cultural failure or fatigue as the reason for the spread of Christianity. Since I wish to demonstrate that Christianity had adopted translatability from a very early stage, I see culture as the natural extension of the new religion, and therefore view cultural failure as ultimately incompatible with Christian success."

XI. Some Concluding Observations

What we have seen are the results of an effort to gather together and outline some of the basics in the development of theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church from 1948 to 1998. We have by no means considered all of the things which played a part in theological education, nor have we looked exhaustively at the things which were considered. The initial idea of doing this study came out of a desire to develop a basic understanding of what has been done over the past fifty years. As a result of surveying, interviewing and reading about what happened during those fifty years, as well as considering some of the events which preceded the work among the Enga people, some interesting observations have come to light.

Although somewhat unexpected, the point which comes up most often throughout the study is the fact that theological education was driven by the need to send people out with the Word in response to requests to learn more about the Gospel. Often it seems that church planting is the sending out of a person or a team into an area in which there is no church, with the task of trying to gather together enough people to start a congregation. The hope is usually that it will develop into a gathering of believers which will be able to sustain itself and call a pastor to continue to develop the ministry. While there is usually a desire for evangelism to take place in the community and for the congregation to grow, the need for significant theological education in the sense of sending out evangelists is not often found.

However, as we have seen in the above chapters, not long after the Lutheran church was invited into the Enga area there were further invitations for evangelists to take the message to surrounding communities. This was so much a part of the picture that, even before the initial baptisms took place, those learning God's Word were working as evangelists, teaching on the weekends in surrounding communities what they had learned during the week. That pattern continued and in a sense pushed the development of

theological education to the forefront of the work of the church. It is clear that the development of theological education was not something thought up and pushed on the Enga people by an outside mission organization (LCMS). Rather, it was a natural outgrowth of what was happening among the people. The fields were ripe for harvest and the workers were being called by the Lord of the harvest through the work in which the LCMS was involved. There was a natural development of theological education as part of the spread of the Word.

We also noted the principle developed by John Nevius in China, that everyone should teach someone who knows less and learn from someone who knows more. Although a specific reference to the Nevius principle was not found in the historical materials related to Lutheran work in Papua New Guinea, there is a sense in which this principle was followed as the work continually required additional people to proclaim the Good News. Theological education had the challenge of trying to keep up with the work. In some ways this is a strange way of doing church work, especially from a Lutheran perspective. Yet, it seems to have given ownership of the task of proclaiming the Gospel to a broad number of people in the community. In a day and age when North American Christianity is struggling to maintain traditional ministry in the face of a changing society, with increasing cultural and ethnic diversity, a broadening of the definition of theological education may prove to be helpful for the work of the church.

A second observation relates to the importance of community in a theological education program in a society in which relationships dominate the culture. While there are good arguments for non-residential models of theological education, it seems evident that a certain amount of residential education is important for the developing of community in Christ. From the initial decision of the people of Irelya to gather together for a prolonged period of time for baptism instruction (which also turned into evangelistic work) to the continuing residential program at Timothy Lutheran Seminary, coming together into Christian community from various languages and tribes (often enemy tribes) has played an important part in knowing what it is to be "one in Christ." Rather than move away from this model, those involved at TLS strengthened this model in 1988 when the Board of Control of Timothy Lutheran Seminary reaffirmed the requirement for each student's wife

and children to come and live on the seminary campus.¹⁷⁰ Although it was not uncommon for husbands to be away from home for weeks or months at a time for work purposes, the church found it important to include the wives and families in that development of community which happened in residential theological education. While this does not make the idea of theological education by extension untenable, it does indicate that a theological education program needs to take into consideration the social structure of the people and the educational skills and methods of the culture in which theological education is done. Residential theological education has played an important part in the development of the Gutnius Lutheran Church.

As the preceding chapters explored what has been done in theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church over the past fifty years, a picture of continual change and development has emerged. Theological education in the GLC has not been static. Rather it has continued to evolve to meet the needs of the church, both in advancing toward higher levels as happened with Martin Luther Seminary in the 1960s and by increasing the capacity to train evangelists through Bible Schools when the Timothy Lutheran Seminary program could not keep up with the needs in the late 1970s and early 1980s. It has also been affected by the education level of the general populace, and will need to continue to change and develop to meet the needs of the church within the GLC and perhaps outside of Papua New Guinea as well.

This study is only descriptive in looking at what has happened, not an attempt to specify what future theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church should look like. While looking at what has been done can be helpful, the change and development of the church and the needs of the church and society will dictate what theological education in the GLC will look like for the next fifty years.

Another study could look further into methods of education used in the process of theological education. Above we noted that the Enga people were very skilled in learning by observation and that is still true today, even though there has been a strong emphasis on

¹⁷⁰ In Melanesian Pidgin: "Timoti Luteran Semineri, Minit bilong Bod bilong Stiaim Semineri, 13 Janueri, 1988. TLS 88-7 Mipela harim ripot long sampela meri bilong sumatin i no sindaun long skul wantaim man olsem na mipela i tok: Mipela strongim olpela polisi olsem: ol meri i mas i kam wantaim man long Semineri na stadi long wok pasto wantaim em."

the western style of academic education by both the government and the mission schools over the past fifty years.¹⁷¹ This ties in not only with education in general, but also with how the Good News is proclaimed and understood. A fellow Papua New Guinea missionary, Julie Lutz, is constantly looking for “gospel hooks”—ways in which the message of the gospel can connect with the Enga way of thinking. In a book entitled *The In-Between Church: Navigating Size Transitions in Congregations*, Alice Mann focuses in one section on the cultures which develop in congregations. She writes: “Sometimes we talk about sticking to gospel and not letting ‘mere’ matters of culture and style get in the way. . . . There is no generic, culture-free Christianity. Every revelation of spiritual truth is embedded in a specific context, and every expression of faith has a distinctive style.”¹⁷² This thought also fits theological education as it develops. It too needs to look around at the culture and be able to adapt to the changes that are taking place within the culture. Along with looking for “gospel hooks,” one could usefully spend some time looking for “educational hooks” as they relate to theological education as it developed in Papua New Guinea and as it continues to develop in PNG and in other cultures around the world, including the United States.

A final observation has to do with how outside Christians (partner churches and others) are involved in theological education with the Gutnius Lutheran Church. We have not seriously considered the influence which LCMS policies may have had on theological education. Furthermore, the effect of local and national government policies or local and national church policies on theological education has not been examined. There is no doubt that many influences have affected what has happened in theological education and will

¹⁷¹ Although this study has not focused on educational methods, a great deal has been written about education in PNG. A 1967 study entitled *WHO? or/and WHAT?: An Attempt to Understand Why Many New Guineans Are So Prone to Cargo Cultism, and Some Implications of the Findings for Education*, by Alfred W. Walck, looks at the world view and educational issues in PNG at the time theological education in the GLC was developing. Walck began missionary work in PNG in 1946. A more recent study which looks at education in PNG from the perspective of the national government is “Education in Papua New Guinea 1973–1993: The Late-Development Effect?” by Sheldon G. Weeks in *Comparative Education* 29, no. 3 (1993): 261–273. Although this study does “not consider non-formal, vocational and technical education, . . . much research on these sectors is published elsewhere in the Educational Research Report series cited later.” Both of these studies would be a place to start looking at educational methods in PNG as the country has developed.

¹⁷² Alice Mann, *The In-Between Church: Navigating Size Transitions in Congregations* (Alban Institute, 1998), 32.

continue to do so. Yet, during the past fifty years, theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church has found a path between the various challenges of the expansion of Christianity, cultural change, and outside demands (church and governmental). In spite of these challenges, theological education has provided leaders for the GLC. A way to balance the work between the various forces was found which allowed the task to proceed. It seems important to continue to seek that balance as theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church progresses. An effort to encourage what can be done on the local level, while at the same time being cognizant of the role that Christianity outside of the GLC can play, is needed. Being able to recognize mutual strengths and avoid over-emphasizing things which are not really appropriate in the GLC context will be important in the continuation of theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church.

The history of the Gutnius Lutheran Church written by Erwin Spruth is entitled *Tok Bilong God Ran i Go* (The Word of God continued to spread: The story of the Gutnius Lutheran Church—Papua New Guinea). Theological education in the GLC seems to fit right in with that title. It was not developed out of some great master plan, although the significance of Lutheran theological education in Papua New Guinea can be traced back to the beginnings of Lutheran work by Johann Flierl on the coast in 1886. Rather, theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church was part and parcel of what was needed to spread the Word, which resulted in a rapidly growing church. It was God at work, and it is to him that the continuation of theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church needs to be entrusted for the next fifty years.

Appendix A: Survey Questions

Surveys were sent out in January of 2001.

Questions for Former and Current Missionaries:

(Historical information questions)

1. When did you serve as a missionary in Papua New Guinea (PNG)?
2. Describe the work you were involved in while you were there.
3. Who was involved in theological education while you were there? (Expat. & Local)
Name Position Location Date
4. When and how did local people become involved in theological education?
Please note the year, the person and role he/she played.
5. How was Birip School for Church Workers started?
(Who wanted it?)
(How did it get done?)
6. How was Birip School for Church Workers supported:
-by overseas churches and people? (money?, books?, personnel?, etc. Please give examples.)
-by local churches and people? (labor?, food?, school fees?, etc. Please give examples.)
7. What were the entrance requirements for a student wanting to attend Birip School for Church Workers?
8. What different programs (pastor, evangelist, headman, etc.) were offered at Birip School for Church Workers when you were in PNG? Please give a brief description of each program.
9. What was the student qualified for when he completed the program?
10. What education and/or theological education was offered for women at Birip School for Church Workers?
11. What courses were part of the programs at Birip School for Church Workers when you were in PNG? (Bible study, preaching, worship, etc.) Give a brief description of each.
12. How were courses developed at Birip School for Church Workers?
(language used, any traditional teaching/learning methods or "Western" reading, writing, lecture, test method? books written locally or translated?)
13. Who was responsible for the Birip School for Church Workers:
(Who made the decisions?)
(Who chose the students and how were they chosen?)
(Who made sure it operated?)
14. How many students were at Birip School for Church Workers during a given year when you were in PNG?
15. When did Birip School for Church Workers change to Timothy Lutheran Seminary?
16. Who was responsible for Timothy Lutheran Seminary when the change took place:
(board? church? mission? local people? other?)
17. Was the Timothy Lutheran Seminary Board made up of all local people when you were there? If yes, when and how did the Timothy Lutheran Seminary Board become all local people?

18. What different programs (pastor, evangelist, headman, etc.) were offered at Timothy Lutheran Seminary when you were in PNG?
19. What was the student qualified for when he completed the program?
20. What courses were part of the programs at Timothy Lutheran Seminary when you were in PNG? (Bible study, preaching, worship, etc.) Give a brief description of each.
21. Were there any continuing education courses provided for those who had completed the initial Timothy Lutheran Seminary program? If yes, describe how they were administered (location, time, who taught, etc.) and what courses were offered.
22. How were courses developed at Timothy Lutheran Seminary?
(language used, any traditional teaching/learning methods or western reading, writing, lecture, test method?)
23. What education and/or theological education was offered for women at Timothy Lutheran Seminary when you were there?
24. How many students were at Timothy Lutheran Seminary during a given year when you were in PNG?
25. When was Martin Luther Seminary started?
26. How was Martin Luther Seminary started?
(Who wanted it? How did it get done?)
27. What role did expatriates play in starting Martin Luther Seminary?
28. What role did local people play in starting Martin Luther Seminary?
29. What different programs (pastor, evangelist, headman, etc.) were offered at Martin Luther Seminary when you were in PNG?
30. What was the student qualified for when he completed the course?
31. What courses were part of the programs at Martin Luther Seminary when you were in PNG? (Bible study, preaching, worship, etc.) Give a brief description of each.
32. Were there any continuing education courses provided for those who had completed the initial Martin Luther Seminary program? If yes, describe how they were administered (location, time, who taught, etc.) and what courses were offered.
33. What education and/or theological education was offered for women at Martin Luther Seminary when you were there?
34. How were courses developed at Martin Luther Seminary?
(language used, any traditional teaching/learning methods or "Western reading, writing, lecture, test method? source of books and materials?)
35. Who was responsible for Martin Luther Seminary?
(Who made the decisions?)
(Who chose the students and how were they chosen?)
(Who made sure it operated?)
36. How many students were at Martin Luther Seminary during a given year when you were in PNG?
37. When did the regional Bible School(s) start?
38. How were regional Bible Schools started?
(Who wanted them? How did it get done?)
39. Who supported the regional Bible School when it started: overseas? local? both?
What kind of support was provided by each?
40. Who was responsible for the Bible School(s)?
(Who made the decisions?)
(Who chose the students and how were they chosen?)
(Who made sure it operated?)
41. What education and/or theological education was offered for women at the regional Bible School(s) when you were there?
42. How many students were at a Bible School during a given year when you were there?

43. How were courses developed at the Bible School?
(language used, any traditional teaching/learning methods or western reading, writing, lecture, test method?)
44. What was the student qualified for when he completed the Bible School course?

(Analytical information questions)

1. Theological education has been done in various ways and many different things make up a successful program. What courses, people, activities, etc., would you consider to have been a part of theological education while you were in PNG?
2. What role, if any, did the *Komuniti Edukesen Senta* play in theological education?
3. What role, if any, did the *Komuniti Fama Senta* play in theological education?
4. Should pre-baptism classes be considered theological education? If yes, why? If no, why not?
5. What was the purpose of Birip School for Church Workers when it began?
6. What prompted the change from Birip School for Church Workers to Timothy Lutheran Seminary?
7. What changed at Birip School for Church Workers when it became Timothy Lutheran Seminary?
8. What was the purpose of the regional Bible School(s) when it/they started?
9. In what ways did Birip School for Church Workers serve the needs of the WLC/GLC?
10. What could Birip School for Church Workers have done to make it an even better school?
11. In what ways has Timothy Lutheran Seminary served the needs of the GLC?
12. In what ways is Timothy Lutheran Seminary serving the needs of the GLC today?
13. What could Timothy Lutheran Seminary have done/do to make it an even better school?
14. What was the purpose of Martin Luther Seminary when it was started?
15. In what ways has Martin Luther Seminary served the needs of the GLC?
16. What can Martin Luther Seminary do to make it an even better school?
17. In what ways did the regional Bible School(s) serve the needs of the GLC?
18. What could the regional Bible Schools have done to serve the needs of the GLC better?
19. How did Birip School for Church Workers prepare you for ministry to the people you were called to serve?
20. How did Timothy Lutheran Seminary prepare you for ministry to the people you were called to serve?
21. How did Martin Luther Seminary prepare you for ministry to the people you were called to serve?
22. Was anything overlooked in theological education in PNG while you were there. If yes, what? How could that need have been met?
23. Write any other thoughts/comments about theological education in the WLC/GLC which you think would be helpful in this study.

Questions for Martin Luther Seminary Graduates:

1. When you were a student at Martin Luther Seminary, who were your teachers? (List both overseas teachers and PNG teachers)
2. Who was the first Papua New Guinean teacher at Martin Luther Seminary? When did he start teaching there?
3. When did you attend Martin Luther Seminary?
4. How did you become a student at Martin Luther Seminary? (Who sent you? Why were you sent? Who supported you?)

5. What did the members of GLC congregations do to help Martin Luther Seminary while you were there?
6. What were the entrance requirements when you applied to Martin Luther Seminary?
7. What different programs were offered at Martin Luther Seminary? (Pastor? Parish worker? Elder? Sunday School teacher? others?)
8. What courses were available for women when you were a student at Martin Luther Seminary?
9. Give the name and a brief description of the courses you had while you were at Martin Luther Seminary.
10. What work were Martin Luther graduates assigned after graduation?
11. How many students were attending Martin Luther Seminary when you were there?
12. Describe the teaching methods used at Martin Luther Seminary when you were a student there. (local teaching methods? western teaching methods? language used? other methods?)
13. What work was the student qualified for when he completed his studies at Martin Luther Seminary?
14. Who was responsible for Martin Luther Seminary when you were a student there? (Who made the decisions? Who made sure the school operated?)
15. What was the purpose of Martin Luther Seminary when you were there? (How was it different from Timothy Lutheran Seminary or Lutheran Highlands Seminary?)
16. In what ways has Martin Luther Seminary served the needs of the GLC?
17. In what ways is Martin Luther Seminary serving the needs of the GLC today?
18. What could Martin Luther Seminary have done to make it an even better school?
19. How did Martin Luther Seminary prepare you for ministry to the people you were called to serve?
20. What has been overlooked in theological education in the GLC since you became a seminary student? How could that need have been met?

Questions for Men Who Graduated from
Birip School for Church Workers:

(In Melanesian Pidgin)

1. Taim yu kisim save long wok pasto husat i bin i stap tisa bilong yu? (Tingim ol ovasis man na tu ol arapela olsem nambis man o Hagen man.)
2. Yu bin i stap sumatin long Birip Skul bilong Sios Wokman stat long wanem yia na i pinis long wanem yia?
3. Taim Birip Skul bilong Sios Wokman i bin kirap ol manmeri bilong ples i gat wanem tingting na ol i wanbel long kirapim dispela?
4. Taim yu bin i stap long Birip Skul bilong Sios Wokman ol i bin lukautim yu long haus na kaikai na ol arapela samting olsem wanem?
5. Ol manmeri bilong ol kongrigesen i bin mekim wanem bilong helpim wok bilong Birip Skul bilong Sios Wokman i gro na kamap strong?
6. Husat i bin makim yu long kamap sumatin bilong Birip Skul bilong Sios Wokman na ol i gat wanem tingting na salim yu i go?
7. Man husat i bin i gat tingting long i kamap studen long Birip Skul bilong Sios Wokman i mas i bin i gat wanem mak o save?
8. I bin i gat wanem ol kain kos o program i bin i kamap long Birip Skul bilong Sios Wokman? (pasto? hetman? sande skul tisa? na arapela arapela?)
9. I bin i gat wanem kain kos o program long Birip Skul bilong Sios Wokman bilong helpim na strongim ol meri?
10. Taim yu bin i stap long Birip Skul bilong Sios Wokman yu bin i sindaun long wanem kain ol kos samting? (autim tok? redim man long baptais? lusim sin? na i go i go)

11. Taim ol sumatin i bin pinisim ol kos long Birip Skul bilong Sios Wokman ol i bin kisim wanem kain wok?
12. Hamas man i bin i stap wantaim yu long Birip Skul bilong Sios Wokman? (yia 1, yia 2, yia 4)
13. Ol samting yu bin kisim save long en taim yu bin wok long redi long baptais i bin helpim yu long redi long autim gutnius olsem wanem?
14. Stori liklik long pasin ol tisa bilong Birip Skul bilong Sios Wokman i bin bihainim bilong lainim ol sumatin? (pasin bilong ples? pasin bilong *kone*? pasin bilong gavman? wanem tokples? na kain samting olsem)
15. Birip Skul bilong Sios Wokman i bin helpim yu redi long autim Gutnius olsem wanem?
16. Taim yu lukluk i go bek long ol samting i bin kamap long taim yu bin i stap long Birip Skul bilong Sios Wokman, yu lukim wanem kain kos o save i bin sot long dispela skul?
17. Nau long dispela taim yu lukim wanem samting i sot long ol skul bilong lainim ol manmeri long tok bilong God?

Questions for Current or Former Bible School Teachers:

(In Melanesian Pidgin)

1. Taim yu bin kisim save long wok pasto husat i bin i stap tisa bilong yu? (Tingim ol ovasis man na tu ol PNG man.)
2. Yu bin i stap sumatin bilong kisim save long wok pasto stat long wanem yia na i pinis long wanem yia?
3. Yu bin mekim wok tisa long wanpela Baibel Skul bilong GLC long wanem ol yia?
4. Baibel Skul we yu bin mekim wok tisa i bin kirap long wanem yia?
5. Husat i bin strong long kirapim dispela Baibel Skul? Bilong wanem?
6. Husat i bin i stap papa bilong dispela Baibel Skul na em i mekim wanem wok bilong helpim dispela Baibel Skul.
7. Taim yu i stap tisa long Baibel Skul wanem rot i bin i stap bilong lukautim ol studen long haus na kaikai na arapela samting?
8. Ol manmeri bilong ol kongrigesen i bin mekim wanem bilong helpim wok bilong Baibel Skul i gro na kamap strong?
9. Taim yu i stap tisa husat i bin makim ol man na salim ol i kam long Baibel Skul na ol i gat wanem tingting na salim ol i kam?
10. Man husat i bin i gat tingting long kamap studen long Baibel Skul i mas i gat wanem mak o save?
11. Hamas studen i bin i stap long Baibel Skul long wanwan yia?
12. Taim yu mekim wok tisa long Baibel Skul ol studen i kisim wanem ol kos?
13. I bin i gat wanem kain kos bilong helpim o strongim ol meri long Baibel Skul?
14. Taim ol sumatin i pinisim kos ol i save kisim wanem ol wok?
15. Pasin bilong ritim buk, sindaun long klasrum na harim maus bilong tisa na raitim ol samting long eksasais buk em i gupela rot long ol man i kisim save long wok ivanselis o nogat? Bilong wanem yu tok olsem?
16. Ol samting yu bin kisim save long en taim yu bin wok long redi long kisim baptais o kisim konfemesen i bin helpim yu long redi long autim gutnius olsem wanem?
17. Ating ol samting ol yangpela i save kisim nau long taim bilong redi long kisim baptais o kisim konfemesen inap helpim ol long redi long autim gutnius o nogat? Bilong wanem?
18. Taim yu i stap tisa long Baibel Skul yu lukim wanem samting em sot long ol klas ol sumatin i kisim?
19. Long laik na tingting bilong yu, wanem samting i mas i senis long ol wok long Baibel Skul?

20. Gutnius Lutheran Sios inap mekim wanem samting bilong helpim na strongim ol wok bilong autim tok bilong God?
21. Ovasis sios na ovasis wokman inap mekim wanem samting bilong helpim na strongim ol wok bilong autim tok bilong God?

Questions for Current and Former Teachers at
Timothy Lutheran Seminary:

(In Melanesian Pidgin)

1. Taim yu bin kisim save long wok pasto husat i bin i stap tisa bilong yu? (Tingim ol ovasis man na tu ol PNG man.)
2. Yu bin i stap sumatin bilong kisim save long wok pasto stat long wanem yia na i pinis long wanem yia?
3. Taim yu bin i kamap tisa long Timoti Lutheran Semineri wanem rot i bin i stap bilong lukautim ol studen long haus na kaikai na arapela samting?
4. Ol manmeri bilong ol kongrigesen i bin mekim wanem bilong helpim wok bilong Timoti Lutheran Semineri i gro na kamap strong?
5. Husat i bin makim ol man na salim ol i kam long Timoti Lutheran Semineri na ol i gat wanem tingting na salim ol i kam?
6. Man husat i gat tingting long kamap studen long Timoti Lutheran Semineri i mas i gat wanem mak o save?
7. Taim yu bin i stap sumatin bilong kisim save long wok pasto i bin i gat wanem ol kain kos o program long semineri yu bin i stap long en? (pasto? hetman? sande skul tisa? na arapela arapela)
8. Taim yu bin i stap sumatin bilong kisim save long wok pasto yu bin kisim wanem kain klas? (autim tok? lusim sin? Pas Pol i raitim i go long ol Rom? na i go i go) (Raitim nem bilong wanwan klas na hap liklik stori long wok bilong dispela klas.)
9. I bin i gat wanem kain kos o program bilong helpim o strongim ol meri long taim yu bin i stap sumatin?
10. Taim yu bin pinisim kos long kisim save long wok pasto yu bin kisim wanem kain wok?
11. Nau, taim yu i stap tisa long Timoti Lutheran Semineri, yu lukim ol sumatin i save kisim wanem kain wok?
12. Nau, taim yu i stap tisa long Timoti Lutheran Semineri, yu lukim wanem nupela kos i stap na i no bin i stap taim yu bin kisim save long wok pasto?
13. Sapos i gat rot, yu lukim i gat nit long wanem kain kos long program long Timoti Lutheran Semineri?
14. Long lukluk na tingting bilong yu pasin bilong lainim ol studen long Timoti Lutheran Semineri em i fit gut wantaim pasin bilong ples o nogat? Sapos nogat, yu ting wanem samting i mas kamap bilong helpim wok bilong Timoti Lutheran Semineri i fit gut wantaim pasin bilong ples?
15. Ol samting yu bin kisim save long en taim yu bin wok long redi long kisim baptais o kisim konfemesen i bin helpim yu long redi long autim gutnius olsem wanem?
16. Nau ol samting ol yangpela i save kisim long taim bilong redi long kisim baptais o kisim konfemesen inap helpim ol long redi long autim gutnius o nogat? Bilong wanem?
17. Taim yu lukluk i go bek long ol samting yu bin kisim taim yu stap sumatin long kisim save long wok pasto, yu lukim wanem samting i i bin sot long ol klas?
18. Nau, taim yu i stap tisa long Timoti Lutheran Semineri yu lukim wanem samting em sot long ol klas ol sumatin i kisim?
19. Long laik na tingting bilong yu, wanem samting i mas senis long ol wok bilong lainim na strongim ol wokman na wokmeri bilong sios bilong helpim tru wok bilong sios i go

het?

20. Gutnius Lutheran Sios inap mekim wanem samting bilong helpim na strongim ol wok bilong autim tok bilong God?
21. Ovasis sios na ovasis wokman inap mekim wanem samting bilong helpim na strongim ol wok bilong autim tok bilong God?

Questions for Those who have Graduated from
Timothy Lutheran Seminary:

(In Melanesian Pidgin)

1. Taim yu bin kisim save long wok pasto long Timoti Lutheran Semineri husat i bin i stap tisa bilong yu? (Tingim ol ovasis man na tu ol PNG man.)
2. Yu bin i stap sumatin long Timoti Lutheran Semineri stat long wanem yia na i pinis long wanem yia?
3. Taim yu bin i stap long Timoti Lutheran Semineri ol i bin lukautim yu long haus na kaikai na arapela samting olsem wanem?
4. Ol manmeri bilong ol kongrigesen i bin mekim wanem bilong helpim wok bilong Timoti Lutheran Semineri i gro na kamap strong?
5. Husat i bin makim yu long kamap sumatin bilong Timoti Lutheran Semineri na ol i gat wanem tingting na salim yu i go?
6. Man husat i gat tingting long kamap studen long Timoti Lutheran Semineri i mas i bin i gat wanem mak o save?
7. I bin i gat wanem ol kain kos o progrem long taim yu i stap long Timoti Lutheran Semineri?
(pasto? hetman? sande skul tisa? na arapela arapela)
8. Taim yu bin i stap sumatin i gat wanem kain kos o progrem long Timoti Lutheran Semineri bilong helpim na strongim ol meri?
9. Taim yu bin i stap long Timoti Lutheran Semineri yu bin i sindaun long wanem kain ol kos samting? (autim tok? redim man long baptais? lusim sin? tok bilip? na i go i go)
10. Taim ol sumatin i bin pinisim ol kos long Timoti Lutheran Semineri ol i bin kisim wanem kain wok?
11. Hamas man i bin i stap wantaim yu long Timoti Lutheran Semineri? (yia 1, yia 2, yia 4)
12. Ol samting yu bin kisim save long en taim yu bin wok long redi long baptais i bin helpim yu long redi long autim gutnius olsem wanem?
13. Pasin bilong ritim buk, sindaun long klasrum na harim maus bilong tisa na raitim ol samting long eksasais buk em i gupela rot long ol man i kisim save long wok pasto o nogat? Biling wanem yu tok olsem?
14. Timothy Lutheran Semineri i bin helpim yu redi long autim Gutnius olsem wanem?
15. Taim yu lukluk i go bek long ol samting i bin kamap long taim yu bin i stap long Timothy Lutheran Semineri, yu lukim wanem samting i bin sot long dispela skul?
16. Nau long dispela taim yu lukim wanem samting i sot long ol skul bilong lainim ol manmeri long tok bilong God?

Appendix B: Survey Respondents

Rev. Dr. Terrance Borchard has served as an evangelistic missionary and Bible translator from 1969 to the present.

Rev. Dr. Willard Burce served as an evangelistic missionary from 1948 to 1988. He was involved in starting Birip School for Church Workers and was on the faculty at Martin Luther Seminary from 1967 to 1988.

Pastor Jones Eggu is a Papua New Guinean pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea. He graduated from Timothy Lutheran Seminary. He has served as a teacher at Timothy Lutheran Seminary from 1995 to the present.

Rev. Marcus Felde served as an evangelistic missionary from 1975 to 1982 and again from 1990 to 1996. He was involved in teaching at Timothy Lutheran Seminary and at Martin Luther Seminary.

Rev. Peter Geyer has served as an evangelistic missionary from 1996 to 2001. He taught at the Kapiago Bible School.

Rev. Dr. Otto Hintze served as an evangelistic missionary from 1948 to 1965.

Rev. Harley Kopitske served as an evangelistic missionary from 1960 to 1974.

Pastor Moses Kombe is a Papua New Guinean pastor of the Gutnius Lutheran Church. He graduated from the Kandep Bible School and Timothy Lutheran Seminary. He is now teaching at Papayuku Bible School.

Pastor Dani Kopa is a Papua New Guinean pastor of the Gutnius Lutheran Church. He graduated from Timothy Lutheran Seminary and has been teaching at TLS since 1981. He has served as principal of Timothy Lutheran Seminary from 1995 to the present.

Rev. Lawrence Matro served as an evangelistic missionary from 1985 to 1993. He served as a teacher at Timothy Lutheran Seminary.

Pastor John Nathan is a Papua New Guinean pastor of the Gutnius Lutheran Church. He graduated from Martin Luther Seminary and completed a Master of Arts in Religion degree at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, MO, USA, in 1998. He is teaching at Timothy Lutheran Seminary.

Pastor Timothy Pape is a Papua New Guinean pastor of the Gutnius Lutheran Church. He graduated from Timothy Lutheran Seminary and was one of the first non-Enga-speaking men to do so. He is teaching at Kapiago Bible School.

Rev. Ralph Patrick served as an evangelistic missionary from 1991 to 1994. He taught at Yaramanda Bible School and Timothy Lutheran Seminary.

Pastor Lipa Pawapen is a Papua New Guinean pastor of the Gutnius Lutheran Church. He graduated from Sr. Flierl Seminary at Logaweng. He is teaching at Timothy Lutheran Seminary.

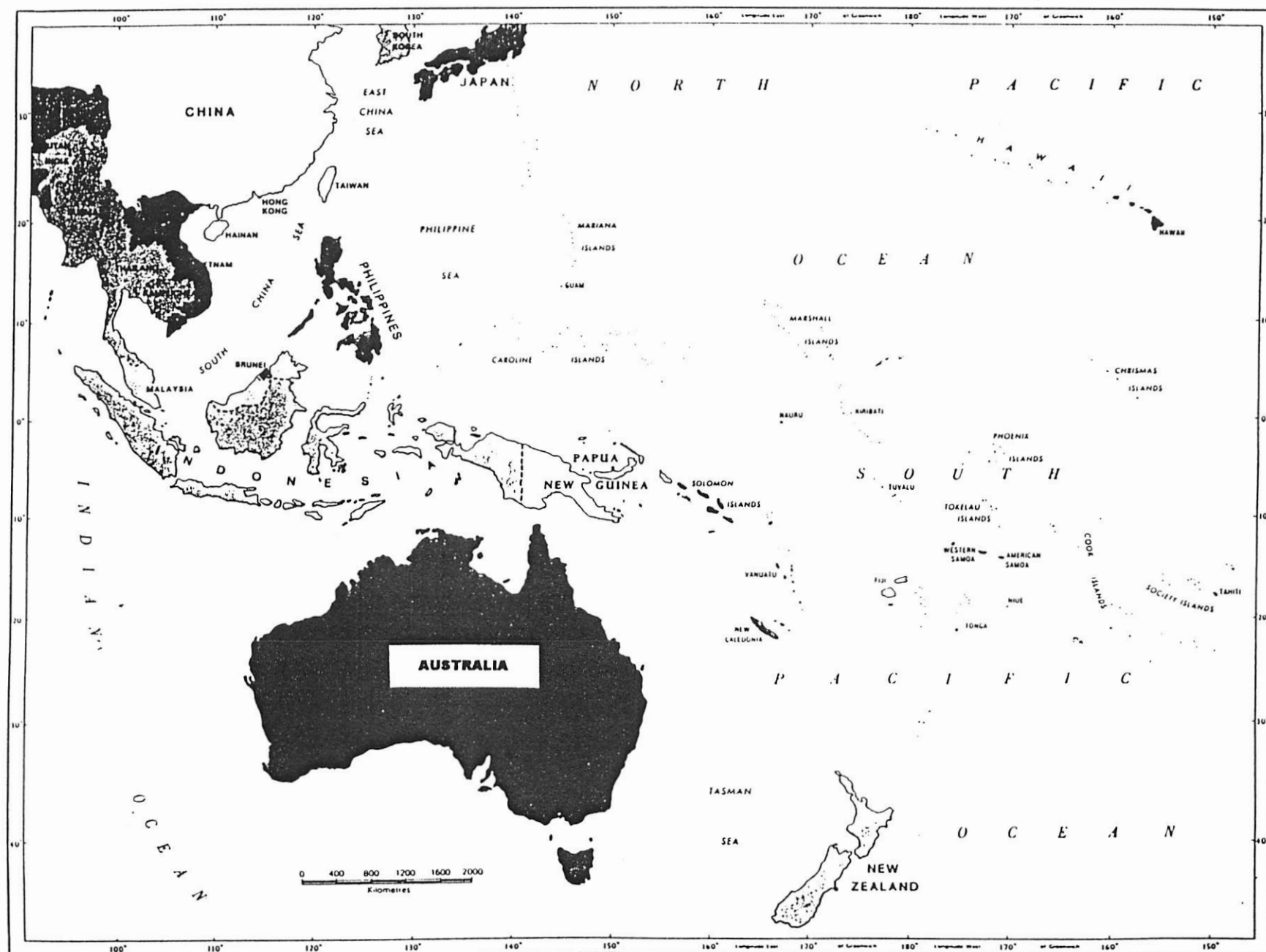
Rev. Ron Rall served as an evangelistic missionary from 1973 to 1981. He organized the first formal Bible School for the Gutnius Lutheran Church in 1977 at Yuyane in Region Five of the Gutnius Lutheran Church.

Rev. Karl Reko served as an evangelistic missionary from 1966 to 1971. He taught at Birip School for Church Workers.

Rev. Mark Schroeder served as an evangelistic missionary from 1984 to 1988. He taught at Timothy Lutheran Seminary.

Rev. Karl Stotik served as an evangelistic missionary from 1951 to 1981. He served in various capacities, including teaching at Birip School for Church Workers/Timothy Lutheran Seminary.

Pastor Pia Tandao is a Papua New Guinean pastor of the Gutnius Lutheran Church. He studied at Birip School for Church Workers. He served as Bishop of Region One for a number of years.



Papua New Guinea: Regional perspective

David King and Stephen Ranck, eds, *Papua New Guinea Atlas: A Nation in Transition* (Bathurst, NSW, Australia: Robert Brown and Associates, 1985), 3.

Works Cited

- Aime, Alphonse, ed. *Catalyst: Social Pastoral Magazine for Melanesia* (Goroka, EHP, Papua New Guinea: The Melanesian Institute) 21, no. 1 (1991).
- — —. *Catalyst: Social Pastoral Magazine for Melanesia* (Goroka, EHP, Papua New Guinea: The Melanesian Institute) 23, no. 2 (1993).
- Anthropological Study Conference (Amapyaka)*. New Guinea Lutheran Mission, March 29–April 2, 1968.
- Carmody, Denise Lardner and John Tully Carmody. *Ways to the Center: An Introduction to World Religions*. 4th ed. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1993.
- The Committee on Theology and Inter-Church Relations of The Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea, The Wabag Lutheran Church, The Siassi Lutheran Church, Lutheran Mission New Guinea, New Guinea Lutheran Mission—Missouri Synod, Australian Lutheran Mission. *Tok Bilip Bilong Yumi*. (A Statement of Faith.) Madang, Papua New Guinea: Kristen Pres, 1972.
- Farley, Edward. *Theologia: The Fragmentation and Unity of Theological Education*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983.
- The First Fifteen Years: The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, Board for World Missions, 1948–1963*. St. Louis, MO: Board for World Missions, 1963.
- Flierl, Johann. *Johann Flierl: My Life and God's Mission, An Autobiography*. Translated by Erich Flierl. Adelaide, SA, Australia: Open Book Publishers, 1999.
- Frerichs, Albert, and Sylvia Frerichs. *Anutu Conquers in New Guinea: A Story of Mission Work in New Guinea*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957.
- Hartwig, J. R., ed. *The Challenge, 1967*. Annual Magazine of the New Guinea Missions of the Lutheran Church of Australia, 1967.
- Horndash, Helmut. "The Church and Its Ministry." In *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The First Hundred Years 1886–1986*. Edited by Herwig Wagner and Hermann Reiner. Adelaide, SA, Australia: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986, 381–408.
- Janzow, W. Theophil, ed. *Perspectives on Ministry*. River Forest, IL: Lutheran Education Association, 1981.

- Keysser, Christian. *A People Reborn*. Translated by Alfred Allin and John Kuder. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1980.
- King, David and Stephen Ranck, eds. *Papua New Guinea Atlas: A Nation in Transition*. Bathurst, NSW, Australia: Robert Brown and Associates, 1985.
- Kuder, John F. "Reconstruction and Consolidation: Lutheran Mission New Guinea after World War II." In *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The First Hundred Years 1886–1986*. Edited by Herwig Wagner and Hermann Reiner. Adelaide, SA, Australia: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986, 223–251.
- Kyakas, Alome and Polly Wiessner. *From Inside the Women's House: Enga Women's Lives and Traditions*. Buranda, Qld, Australia: Robert Brown and Associates, 1992.
- Lutschewitz, Hermann. "Training for the Ministry at Martin Luther Seminary." Within "The Church and Its Ministry," by Helmut Horndash. In *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The First Hundred Years 1886–1986*. Edited by Herwig Wagner and Hermann Reiner. Adelaide, SA, Australia: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986, 403–408.
- Mann, Alice. *The In-Between Church: Navigating Size Transitions in Congregations*. Alban Institute, 1998.
- Mantovani, Ennio, ed. *An Introduction to Melanesian Religions*. Point Series, no. 6. Goroka, EHP, Papua New Guinea: The Melanesian Institute, 1984.
- Martin Luther Seminary Handbook*, 1995. Lae, Papua New Guinea: Martin Luther Seminary, 1995.
- Meggitt, M. J., et al. *The Enga of the New Guinea Highlands: Some Preliminary Observations*. New Guinea Lutheran Mission, 1966.
- Mihalic, F. *The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin*. Hong Kong: The Jacaranda Press, 1983.
- Nevius, John L. *Methods of Mission Work*. Via the Christian Digital Library Foundation electronic texts at <http://www.chelf.org/ftp/> on 1 August 2002.
- Newton, Robert. "Ripot long Bung Bilong Lukluk long Tiolosikal Edukesen long Gutnius Luteran Sios, 14–16 Epril 1997." (Report from the gathering to consider theological education in the Gutnius Lutheran Church, 14–16 April 1997.) Duplicated.
- Nrossko, Kurt-Dietrich. "Missionary Advance to the Highlands," in *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The First Hundred Years 1886–1986*. Edited by Herwig Wagner and Hermann Reiner. Adelaide, SA, Australia: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986, 187–222.

- Nupela Testamen bilong Bikpela Jisas Krai; Buk bilong ol Sam.* (The New Testament and Psalms in Papua New Guinea Pidgin.) Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea: The Bible Society of Papua New Guinea, 1978. Reprint, 1985.
- Rannells, Jackson. *PNG: A Fact Book on Modern Papua New Guinea*. Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Repp, Arthur C. "Report in Reference to Martin Luther Seminary, Lae, T.P.N.G." Presented to The Board of Ministerial Training and for use by the Faculty and Board of Control of Martin Luther Seminary and the Lutheran Churches and Mission of New Guinea, Lae, T.P.N.G., December 10–11, 1968.
- Sanneh, Lamin. *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1989.
- Sievert, J. *Lotu Buk*. (Church Service Book in New Guinea Pidgin.) Madang, Papua New Guinea: Kristen Pres, 1963. Reprint, 1984.
- Spruth, Erwin L. "The Mission of God in the Wabag Area of New Guinea: A Preliminary Study of Church Growth Among the Enga and Ipili Peoples." Master's thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, April 1970.
- — —. *Tok Bilong God Ran i Go*. (The Word of God continued to spread: The Story of the Gutnius Lutheran Church—Papua New Guinea.) Wabag, Enga Province, Papua New Guinea: Department of Evangelism & Life, Gutnius Lutheran Church Papua New Guinea, 1980.
- — —. "Lutheran Church Among the Enga: New Guinea Lutheran Mission/Missouri Synod." In *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The First Hundred Years 1886–1986*. Edited by Herwig Wagner and Hermann Reiner. Adelaide, SA, Australia: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986, 273–305.
- Stadi Long Tiolosi Na Wok Pasto, Namba 2*. (Study of theology and pastoral work.) Wabag, Enga Province, Papua New Guinea: Timoti Luteran Semineri, 1992.
- Studen Hanbuk bilong TLS, 1993*. (Student handbook of Timothy Lutheran Seminary, 1993). Birip, Enga Province, Papua New Guinea: Timothy Lutheran Seminary, 1993.
- Vicedom, G. F. *Church and People in New Guinea*. London: United Society for Christian Literature and the Lutterworth Press, 1961.
- Wagner, Herwig. "Beginnings at Finschhafen: The Neuendettelsau Mission jointly with the Australian Lutheran Church." In *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The First Hundred Years 1886–1986*. Edited by Herwig Wagner and Hermann Reiner. Adelaide, SA, Australia: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986, 31–98.
- Wagner, Herwig and Hermann Reiner, eds. *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The First Hundred Years 1886–1986*. Adelaide, SA, Australia: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986.

- Walck, Alfred W. "Who or/and What? An Attempt to Understand Why Many New Guineans Are So Prone to Cargo Cultism, and Some Implications of the Findings for Education." Three credit paper toward a Master of Arts, University of Minnesota, June, 1967.
- Weeks, Sheldon G. "Education in Papua New Guinea 1973–1993: The Late-Development Effect?" *Comparative Education* 29, no. 3 (1993): 261-273.
- Westermann, Ted. *The Mountain People: Social Institutions of the Laiapu Enga*. Wapenamanda, Territory of Papua and New Guinea: New Guinea Lutheran Mission, March 27, 1968.
- Whiteman, Darrell L. *Melanesians and Missionaries: An Ethnohistorical Study of Social and Religious Change in the Southwest Pacific*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1983.
- — —. *An Introduction to Melanesian Cultures: A Handbook for Church Workers*. The Point Series, no. 5. Goroka, Papua New Guinea: The Melanesian Institute, 1984.
- Wiessner, Polly and Akii Tumu. *Historical Vines: Enga Networks of Exchange, Ritual, and Warfare in Papua New Guinea*. Bathurst, NSW, Australia: Crawford House Publishing, 1998.
- Zorn, Herbert M. *Viability in Context: A Study of the Financial Viability of Theological Education in the Third World—Seedbed or Sheltered Garden?* Sussex, England: The Theological Education Fund, A Service of the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches, 1975.